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4^o BS. 679.

A N
INAUGURAL LECTURE
ON
THE UTILITY
OF
Anglo-Saxon Literature ;

TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE
BY
KING ALFRED,
INCLUDING
HIS ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH CAPE
IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

BY
THE REV. JAMES INGRAM, M. A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND ANGLO-SAXON PROFESSOR.

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1807.

III. HODNOSTI A ZNAMENÍ



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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

MY LORD,

HAVING obtained permission to dedicate to your Lordship the following Essay on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature, I have endeavoured to render it more worthy of your acceptance, by adding thereto a small specimen of KING ALFRED's Saxon labours; hoping that a Monarch, who was the glory of his own and of all succeeding ages, may henceforward be admitted into the list

of the royal and noble authors of England ; an honour, of which the late Lord Orford probably would not have deprived him, had he been able to read and understand the language in which he wrote. For perhaps no author can be found, either noble or royal, whose name is calculated to add so much lustre and dignity to the catalogue, as that of ALFRED !

In addition to the private motives of gratitude and regard, which will always ensure my attachment to every part of your Lordship's family, I feel a peculiar pleasure, as I think there is a peculiar propriety, in submitting the first fruits of my Saxon studies to your patronage and protection. The most valuable part of the laws, the constitution, and the religion of England, is undoubtedly built on a SAXON foundation. Those laws, that constitution, and that religion, have always been uniformly supported by your Lordship with the prudence of a Statesman, the integrity of a Patriot, and the feelings of a Man. As a distinguished member also of the University of Oxford, and a sincere lover of literature, you will naturally be disposed to give a favourable reception to a work, prepared within those walls where your Lordship's father passed the classical hours of his academical life.

The present age, my Lord, from a fastidious apprehension of flattery, has abolished the custom of long dedications ; I should otherwise be disposed to imitate the example of the learned author of the Epistolary Dissertation on the Utility of Northern Literature,

ture, in order that those, who might not find leisure, or inclination to proceed any farther in the work, might at least be induced to read the dedication from a respect for your Lordship. But perhaps it is unnecessary to trespass on your time and attention, by accumulating tedious and elaborate proofs of the importance of Saxon literature, which is now so generally felt and acknowledged. There is one circumstance, however, in its favour, which ought to be mentioned in justice to your Lordship and other distinguished persons. This department of literature is intimately connected with the general objects of that grand design, so worthy of a great nation, for the execution of which your Lordship was appointed one of the earliest and ablest Commissioners; I allude to that magnificent measure adopted by the British Parliament for the arrangement, preservation, and PUBLICATION, of some of the principal RECORDS of the Kingdom; and it is with satisfaction I read, "that the same motives which encouraged your predecessors to intreat his Majesty's directions for printing the ancient Records of Domesday, and the Rolls of Parliament, have also induced you to submit to His Majesty's wisdom your desire of extending the same measure to other ancient and valuable monuments of our History, Laws, and Government."

As I can only presume to ADMIRE so noble a design, my purpose will be sufficiently answered, and my labours abundantly rewarded, if I contribute in the smallest degree to excite attention to those valuable monuments of our national history, hitherto too much

much neglected or misunderstood, which may not only be subjects of curiosity to an antiquary, but may also afford interest and amusement to the statesman, the patriot, and the scholar.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most obliged

And most obedient faithful servant,

JAMES INGRAM,
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

November 16, 1807.

In the Anglo-Saxon literature I have deemed it necessary to add a translation with notes, to this short specimen.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was my intention to dismiss this work without the formality of a preface; but, since the whole was printed off, I have had an opportunity of examining the original MS. of Alfred's Orosius, preserved in the British Museum, from which the Bodleian MS. was transcribed by Junius. Mr. Ellis, of the Museum, has also informed me, that a very fine MS. of the same work has been lately purchased from the Lansdowne Collection. There is very little doubt, that both these MSS. were written about the time, or in the reign, of King Alfred, by one of those *writers*, writers, or scribes, whom he is known to have employed to transcribe and multiply copies of all those useful works, which he supposed would contribute to the improvement of his people. The translation of Orosius is one of the most extraordinary productions of this kind; and, as an epitome of ancient history, it well deserves to be more generally known; but for that purpose it ought first to be correctly printed, *which has not yet been done*: if, however, the public should think it important enough, I can only say, that, as far as it depends on me, *it shall be done*. It is time, that the fame of Alfred, and the unvarnished language of our Saxon ancestors should no longer be sullied by the errors of later ages, and the ignorance of superficial pretenders to *refinement*.

In the present state of Anglo-Saxon literature, I have deemed it necessary to add an English translation, with notes, to this short
speci-

specimen of our ancient language ; for, as Bishop Nicolson observed more than a century ago, " THE WORLD IS NOT YET SO " WELL STOCKED WITH MEN SKILLED IN OUR SAXON LANGUAGE AND " ANTIQUITIES, AS WE MAY HOPE TO SEE IT *."

I have lately seen in the British Museum a copy of the work of Buffæus, mentioned p. 91. from which it is evident, that the Saxon language was not understood at Copenhagen in the year 1733, and that the editor undertook to *print* what he could not even *read*. His geographical notes are chiefly extracted from the Oxford edition of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan.

Some apology, perhaps, may here be expected for the inconsistent orthography, which the reader will sometimes find in the following work. In conformity to general custom, I have sacrificed to the shade of Dr. Johnson, in allowing such anomalies as *honourable*, *favourable*, &c. which are neither Latin, nor French, nor English, to pass uncorrected ; while, on the other hand, I beg the printer may not be blamed, if I have sometimes introduced innovations, as in *iland*, *rime*, *Rine*, *Rone*, &c, if that can be called an innovation, which was the regular orthography of our language a thousand years ago. The minuteness of verbal criticism is tedious, even when apparently necessary ; I will therefore only observe with respect to our present orthography, that a few hours attentively dedicated to Saxon literature, will be sufficient to overthrow the authority of every dictionary and grammar of the English language, that has been hitherto published.

* From an *unpublished* letter to Mr. Thwaites, dated Dec. 16, 1697. MS. Bodl.

INAUGURAL LECTURE, &c.

AS the establishment of an "Anglo-Saxon Lecture or Professorship" is of very late origin in this University, and as there is no institution of a similar kind elsewhere*, it may probably be ima-

* At Cambridge, indeed, Archbishop Usher, in consequence of a donation from Sir Henry Spelman, proposed to Professor Wheloc, in the year 1640, a plan by which Saxon literature might be promoted in that University; which was, to read and explain the Saxon Gospels. But Wheloc preferred the more useful labour of a Saxon editor. On the death of Professor Wheloc, the learned Mr. Somner succeeded him in the Saxon department, and, after the example of his predecessor, he endeavoured to make his labours *generally* useful through the medium of the *press*: "quo multo magis" (says he, in the dedication of his Saxon Dictionary to Roger Spelman, Esq.) "*quam Academica prælectione, ut verisimile fuit, linguam effem præmoturus.*" What is become of this Saxon Professorship at Cambridge, and of the "*perenne præmium et stipendium,*" mentioned by Somner, I know not; but I should be glad to find, that my observation above is incorrect, and that the endowment of Sir Henry Spelman is still in existence. The Saxon MSS. in Bene't College Library are extremely valuable, and great assistance might be derived, in the cultivation of this kind of literature, from the correspondence of a Saxon Professor in the sister University. That the nature of the Oxford endowment may be better known, as there are some peculiar clauses and restrictions belonging to it, I have given a few extracts from the Will of Dr. Rawlinson, in an Appendix to this Lecture, No. I. Some additional observations also, respecting the well-intended donation of Sir Henry Spelman at Cambridge, will be found in the Appendix, No. II.

gined by many, not only that this department of literature is of a barren and uninteresting nature in itself, but that it has been deservedly neglected by the good sense of mankind, as obsolete and antiquated, and no longer applicable to any useful purpose in the pursuit of general knowledge. To those, however, who have diligently and attentively examined the subject, the contrary appears manifestly to be the case in both respects; and it shall therefore be my endeavour, in the Lecture which I have now the honour of submitting with all due deference to this respectable audience, to prove several material points in favour and recommendation of Anglo-Saxon literature.

I. In the first place, I will endeavour to shew, that the study of Anglo-Saxon literature has never been neglected or vilified by men of learning, but, on the contrary, has been uniformly cultivated and promoted; and that the importance of it has been always maintained to the present time by men of the first rank in the republic of letters, for their accurate taste, sound judgment, and profound erudition.

II. I shall then proceed to examine, what inducements there are to the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature; and these, I trust, will be allowed to be sufficiently strong and powerful, if it shall appear, that the knowledge of it is of the greatest importance to Englishmen, and that it is intimately connected with the original introduction and establishment of their present language and laws, their liberty, and their religion.

III. In the last place, I will venture to suggest, that it is not only of this *particular* importance to Englishmen, but that it is also capable of being made a subject of *general* interest in the pursuit of universal knowledge, and may serve as a medium of illustration to those, who are disposed to study and investigate the
philo-

philosophical principles of grammar^b, and the true theory of language.

I. In the first place then, if we diligently examine the whole history and progress of Saxon literature in this country, we shall find that, so far from having been totally neglected at any time, it has been uninterruptedly cultivated and continued to this day amongst us by the public-spirited exertions of illustrious and learned men, who suffered no obstacles to overcome their sense of its utility. And such conduct, surely, must be allowed to be not only laudable on their parts, but natural, when we consider, that THE GREAT MASS OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ARE STILL OF SAXON ORIGIN; a fact, which will be more fully confirmed hereafter^c. That veneration, therefore, is not only laudable, but natural, which, notwithstanding the overwhelming torrent of the Norman usurpation, has been uniformly cherished from a very remote period to the present time, for the language, the liberty, and the laws of our Saxon progenitors.

Indeed, no sooner did the Saxon inhabitants of this country begin gradually to emerge from that state of abject vassalage, into which they had been plunged by their Norman conquerors, no sooner did the commonalty of this realm fill a third department in the state, holding the balance even between baronial aristocracy on the one hand, and regal despotism on the other, no sooner did this glorious æra commence in our political constitution, than a

^b The word GRAMMAR is here used in that enlarged, comprehensive, and proper sense, in which it was originally understood, when it was a subject of scientific investigation to philosophers, and not yet made the terror of children; when it was analyzed and simplified by an Aristotle and a Theodectes, not perverted by the sophistries of an Aristarchus and a Palæmon. (Vide Quint. I. 4. et Juvenal. Sat. VI. 451.) A *Grammaire Raisonnée* is still a desideratum.

^c Vide p. 12.

manifest change took place in the general complexion of our language and literature. Amidst the factions of the nobility, and the distresses of the crown, the PEOPLE^d at length rose into consequence. The increasing wants of society established a chain of political and commercial intercourse; the common interests of all ranks were united; the connection between town and country became more close and permanent; and the language of the peasantry was insensibly blended with the language of the court. At length, in the reign of Edward the Third, CHAUCER undertook to delineate in native colours the variegated manners of his countrymen, and considered no station in life beneath the notice of a poet. With the refinements of the polite world he mingled the rude speech of the rustic, and taught the French and Italian heroes of chivalry and romance to appear in an English dress. Indeed, the pen of this elegant writer appears to have achieved as great a conquest over the other languages of Europe, as the sword of his royal master obtained over the monarch of France^e.

^d By PEOPLE I mean *populus*, not *plebs*; *ἄνθρωποι*, not *πλοῦτες*. "Hoc quoque pertinet, dicet qui me noverit."

^e My veneration for Chaucer will not allow me to assent to the *heretical* opinion of Verstegan in the following passage: "Some few ages after came the Poet *Geffery Chaucer*, who writing his poeſies in *Engliſh*, is of ſome called the firſt illuminator of the *Engliſh* tongue: of their opinion I am not, (though I reverence *Chaucer*, as an excellent Poet for his time.) He was indeed a great mingler of *Engliſh* with *French*, unto which language, by like for that he was deſcended of *French* or rather *Wallon* race, he carried a great affection." (Restitution of decayed Intelligence, &c. c. 7.) How far Chaucer merits this censure, I intend to examine more minutely in an Essay or Lecture which I am preparing, the subject of which is, *The formation of the Engliſh language on the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon*. Mr. Ellis, the editor of "*Specimens of Early Engliſh Poets*," has advanced a new opinion on this subject, which differs materially from that of most other writers, particularly Dr. Johnson, (or whoever wrote the "*History of the Engliſh Language*" prefixed to his Dictionary,) and Mr. Tyrwhitt.

The

The long train of poets who succeeded Chaucer imitated his example with a kind of filial veneration; and Spenser himself, a poet of no vulgar cast, was proud to draw large supplies, in a pedantic age, from what he considered as the pure "well of English undefiled!" In short, the most illustrious examples of learning, taste, and genius, have at all times seen the necessity of understanding and venerating that parent language, which constitutes the predominant feature in the works of our early poets, and forms the genuine ground-work of our vernacular idiom. It is thus indeed, and thus only, that the veil must be removed, which conceals the most impressive and striking characteristics of our native language in impenetrable obscurity. Yet, as the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature forms no part of a regular education, but is left to the fortuitous partiality of a few individuals, it is not at all surprizing, however it may excite our regret, that some have no inclination, and others have no opportunity, to pay that attention to it, which its manifest importance appears to demand.

It is a fact not a little curious in the history of Anglo-Saxon literature, that the monks of Tavistock-Abbey, many centuries ago, instituted in their monastery a regular school for the better preservation of that language, which they supposed to be in no small danger of becoming totally unintelligible, in consequence of the changes introduced by the Normans. This, I believe, is the earliest instance on record, after the conquest, of any professed attention being paid to Anglo-Saxon literature, and to this attention may be ascribed the preservation of many Saxon manuscripts^f.

^f In the public library at Cambridge there is an Anglo-Saxon homily extant in manuscript, which contains a memorandum to the following effect: "This manuscript, with another of the same kind, was found by R. Farrar, a servant of the Earl of Bedford, in the year 1566, in a house which was formerly a cell
" be-

After the Reformation, amidst the general havoc, plunder, and demolition, which accompanied the dissolution of monasteries, it could not be expected, that the cause of antiquity and literature should receive any signal or immediate advantage. Yet it appears, that after a very short interval, when the storm of innovation had subsided, and the human mind, released from the dull monotony of monastic life, began to expatiate with freedom in the various walks of useful learning, men of the first eminence and respectability for their rank in society, as well as for their attainments in literature, became the ardent patrons and admirers of the Anglo-Saxon language. Among the foremost stands the venerable Dr. Matthew Parker, THE SECOND PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. He was for some time Master of Bene't College in Cambridge; and to the public library of that University, as well as to the private library of his own College, he bequeathed some very valuable manuscripts, particularly of the Saxon language, the greater part of which had been collected and rescued from the ruins of the plundered monasteries. With this most reverend Primate of all England may be joined, as second in rank, though considerably later in point of time, the learned Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher, whose Annals of the Old and

"belonging to the monks of Tavistock-Abbey." The MS. is thus characterized by Wheloc and Wanley: "Unus e codd. MSS. nomine Homiliarum 34 notus."

* A Catalogue of the Parkerian MSS. of C. C. C. first appeared in the Ecloga Jameſii, and was thence transcribed into the Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland; which being found imperfect and inaccurate, Dr. Stanley, who was Master of the College in the reign of William the Third, published another. This also being incomplete, Mr. Nasmith, one of the Fellows, published a more full and accurate Catalogue in 4to, Cant. 1777. Yet the following confession in the Preface to this work is curious: "Ad Codices Saxonicos quod attinet, *linguæ* "in qua exarantur prorsus ignarus, Wanleium ubique secutus sum!" Wanley's Catalogue is published at the end of Hickes's Thesaurus.

New

New Testament, and whose historical researches into the antiquities of the British Churches, afford abundant proofs of his profound erudition.

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries flourished many other learned and indefatigable scholars, who considered a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language as indispensably necessary in the study of English antiquities. The first in order, if not the first in fame, is one to whom his countrymen will always feel themselves highly indebted, for his ardent industry and laborious perseverance in the execution of his office, as librarian and antiquary to King Henry the Eighth. Every one will here anticipate the name of *Leland*, the father of English antiquaries, and the great præcursor of topographical writers. In the same track follows *Lambard*, whose learned publication of the *Archæionomia*, or collection of the ancient laws of England, first printed in the year 1568, will be found to be equally valuable to the lawyer, the antiquary, and the historian^b. To these writers may be added the great antiquary and biographer Bale, the unfortunate and persecuted Bishop of Ossory; together with Dr. Laurence Nowell, the learned Dean of Lichfield; Dr. Caius, or Kayes, the founder of the College which retains his name at Cambridge; and Foxe the Martyrologist^c.

^b An improved edition of these ancient laws, with considerable additions, useful notes, and a learned preface by Bishop Nicolson, was afterwards published by Dr. Wilkins, Prebendary of Canterbury; folio, London, 1721. The edition by Wheloc was merely a republication of Lambard's in 1568.

^c Saxon scholars are much indebted to this extraordinary man. Perhaps they will think his publication of the Saxon Gospels, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in the year 1571, more valuable than his famous Book of Martyrs. But it is not improbable, that Archbishop Parker superintended this publication of the Saxon Gospels. Vid. T. Marechalli Observ. in Evang. A. Saxon. See more on this subject in the Appendix, No. III.

In

In the seventeenth century, among the cultivators and promoters of Anglo-Saxon literature, we find the distinguished and illustrious names of Sir Edward Coke, Dr. Cowell, Dr. Brady the historian, Tate, Camden, Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, Sir Roger Twysden, Sir Henry and Sir John Spelman^k; the latter of whom edited, among other things, the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, and of whom Wheloc gives an excellent character for accuracy of taste, elegance of genius, and the most amiable sweetness of manners^l.

In the same century also we find that Anglo-Saxon literature was cultivated by some of the most eminent scholars on the continent; among others, by John Gerard Vossius, the learned Professor of Chronology and Eloquence at Leyden, and of History at Amsterdam; by John de Laet of Leyden, the intimate friend of Sir Henry Spelman; by Olaus Wormius, Professor at Copenhagen, the great investigator of Danish antiquities, who appears to have joined the study of the Saxon language with a profound knowledge of Runic and Scandinavian literature; and, lastly, by Francis Junius^m, whose indefatigable labours in Anglo-Saxon and

^k It would be easy to increase this nomenclature of Saxon scholars and their patrons; but my intention was to prove, by a selection of the most illustrious names, that the Saxon language has been ardently cultivated, not only by learned antiquaries and lawyers, but by men of the highest respectability, and of the most elegant taste. We shall see also, hereafter, from the example of Mrs. Elizabeth Elstob, (THE FIRST PRECEPTRESS TO HIS GRACE THE PRESENT CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD!) that an attention to the Saxon language and English antiquities may be blended with the highest order of *female* accomplishments!—If health and leisure permit, it is my intention to publish a kind of *Biographia Anglo-Saxonica*, or *Select Lives of Anglo-Saxon Scholars*.

^l “Vir acerrimi judicii, comptissimi ingenii, probatissimæ morum suavitatis.” Wheloc, *Præf. ad Bedæ Hist.* This great scholar died at Oxford in the year 1644. “Oxonii inter serenas Musas animam efflavit.” *Id. ibid.*

^m His real name was François du John, or *du Jon*, transformed by the latinizing fashion

Mæso-Gothic literature were continued with increasing ardour to his NINETIETH year, and who bequeathed some of the valuable fruits of those labours to this University.

But—to return to our own country—we must not forget, that the most illustrious and zealous promoter of Anglo-Saxon literature in the seventeenth century was the great Sir Henry Spelman above-mentioned; who, in addition to his own ardent cultivation of it, extended his bounty and munificence to those who were willing to follow him in this track of studyⁿ, having, almost at the age of EIGHTY YEARS, appropriated a part of his own annual income^e, as well as the Vicarage of Middleton in the diocese of Norwich, augmented by himself, to the purpose of providing an annual stipend, either for a Saxon Lecture to be read in

fashion of the times into Franciscus Junius^t. He was born at Heidelberg 1589—died 1678. His father was Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and published, in conjunction with Tremellius, a Latin version of the Bible from the Hebrew. The principal works of the son, who was profoundly skilled in Northern literature, are the following:—*Etymologicum Anglicanum*, (published by Lye in folio, Oxon. 1743.)—*Tatiani Harmonia Evangelica Francice*.—*Lexicon Saxonicum, Gothicum, Runicum, Islandicum, Francicum, &c.*—(Vide *Hickes's Thesaur.*) His life has been written in Latin both by Grævius and Lye. That he was a man of elegant taste, as well as deep erudition, appears from all his compositions, but particularly from his work on the Painting of the Ancients, which he published both in Latin and English, together with a Catalogue of Architects, Mechanics, Painters, Statuaries, Sculptors, and other artists, with an account of their works. He published the Gothic and Saxon Gospels in conjunction with Dr. Marshall; for which he collated four MSS. besides the Cotton and Rushworth Glosses. (See the Appendix, No. III.)

• “*Coryphæus noster*” is the expression by which Wheloc characterizes him, and he every where testifies his gratitude and admiration, calling him “*heros eximius, nobilis, integerrimus, pius, inclytus; antiquissimæ, dum vixerat, literaturæ et fidei.*” (Vid. *Ded. et Præf. in Bedæ Edit. Latino-Saxonicam.*)

• “*De censu suo annuo—minerval annum*” is the expression of Wheloc. (Vid. *Præf. ad Lectorem Hist. Eccles. Ven. Bed. Cant. 1644.*)

the University of Cambridge, or for the publication of some of the curious manuscripts extant in that language ^P. To this department Abraham Wheloc, at that time Arabic Professor, was appointed by the desire of Sir Henry Spelman himself ^q; and though it does not appear that he delivered any public lectures in the University, yet he gave the world the first edition of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History with the Anglo-Saxon translation of King Alfred, the first edition of the Saxon Chronicle, a new edition of Lambard's Archaionomia, with many other valuable specimens of his Anglo-Saxon labours. On the death of Professor Wheloc, the learned Mr. Somner of Canterbury was appointed to succeed him ^r, being strongly recommended by the Archbishop of Armagh ^s to the patronage of Roger Spelman, Esq. the grand-

^t Or perhaps for any other mode of promoting the study of *English antiquities*, according to the discretion of the Professor. Vide Wheloc. Præf. in Bed. uti supra, & Somner. Dedicat. Diction. Sax. Lat. Angl. cum Præf.

^q See the Appendix, No. II. The design of Sir Henry Spelman, which every Englishman must respect and admire, will be best explained in the words of Professor Somner, (Dedication of his Saxon Dictionary, p. 1.) “Hinc autem experientia propria hoc tandem comperto, linguam scilicet SAXONICAM rei antiquæ apud ANGLOS (quid si GERMANOS addiderim?) studiose adeo necessariam esse, ut nisi admoto prius et adhibito ipsius lumine, ANTIQUITATES ANGLICÆ aut omnino manerent incognitæ, aut (ut in multis GERMANIÆ partibus) plena faltem et perfectæ carerent illustratione, magna admodum et singularis optimi viri in hujusmodi manuductionis et directionis lumine accendendo proponendoque cura fuit studiumque: serii et seduli, &c.” (Vid. et Præf. ad Lectorem.)

^r In imitation of his predecessor, and in conformity to the design of the great founder of the endowment, Mr. Somner dedicated his time to the private study of Saxon literature and English antiquities, instead of reading public lectures, and at length gave the world the fruits of his labours and researches; the most valuable specimen of which is his Saxon Dictionary; which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. (See the next page.)

^s James Usher, D. D. who has been already mentioned, though rather out of the exact chronological order.—For a more circumstantial account of this Anglo-Saxon

son of Sir Henry, in whose presentation the vicarage of Middleton then was.

It is well known, that the lamentable confusion and unhappy disturbances, which at that time prevailed in this country, diverted the minds of men from the pursuit of general literature to the confined channel of polemical divinity and politico-religious controversy; nor could it well be expected, that, amidst the paroxysms of puritanical madness, a field apparently so uninviting as that of Anglo-Saxon literature should open any prospects to encourage the exertions of the learned. Yet a Saxon Grammar is said to have been printed, even during the rage of the civil wars, at the Abbey-school of Tavistock before mentioned, the ancient repository of the language; and soon afterwards appeared the Dictionary of the celebrated Mr. Somner^t, who may be said to have revived the study of Anglo-Saxon literature by the publication of that most excellent work^u. But above all Dr. Hickes,

Saxon Lecture or Professorship in the University of Cambridge, and of the causes which led to its extinction, see the Appendix, No. II.

^t Folio, Oxon. 1659. The work was sent from Canterbury to be printed at Oxford. It was the first attempt of the kind, if we except an imperfect vocabulary by Dr. Nowel, and a small collection of Saxon words, compiled and left unfinished by Jocelin, Secretary to Archbishop Parker.

^u Dr. Hickes expressly calls him the *father* of Saxon literature. “*Literaturæ Saxonicae pater*” is his high encomium, though perhaps the word *restitutor* would have been more appropriately just; since the great scholars, whom we have already mentioned as the præcursors of Mr. Somner in the same path, abundantly prove the attention that was paid to Saxon literature long before his time. Yet his *Dictionarium Saxonicum* is in the highest degree learned, laborious, and useful; and it is to be regretted, that Lye and Manning did not follow him more closely; particularly in adding the English terms more frequently to the Saxon words. To explain Anglo-Saxon by Latin, and that too, *mediæ ævi*, is to explain *obscurum per obscurius*! This practice appears to be the principal cause of the neglect of Anglo-Saxon literature. The age is too indolent and luxurious to sub-

the great master of the Northern languages in general, and of the Anglo-Saxon in particular, accomplished the most arduous task in compiling and publishing, amidst the hardships of deprivation and poverty, his learned "Thesaurus Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium." The names of Wanley, Bishop Gibson, Dr. Mill, Sir Andrew Fountaine, Dr. Wilkins, Bishop Nicolson, Lye, Tyrwhitt, Warton, Tooke, and others, form a respectable and numerous list of scholars and antiquaries, by whose progressive labours and exertions the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language has been rendered of easy access to all, and having continued to be cultivated to our own times, it has become an object of relative importance even in this age of fastidious refinement *.

II. Indeed, that the Anglo-Saxon language should have been so carefully and diligently preserved among us, and that the rude elements of which it is composed should have some attractions for the learned in a later age of refinement, will not appear at all surprising, when we consider, in the next place, that the great mass of the people of this country, notwithstanding the predatory incursions of the Danes, the successful invasion of the Normans, and the occasional introduction of foreign families into the kingdom at different times, continue at this day to be of Saxon origin; whence it follows, as a natural consequence, that the pre-

mit to the drudgery of learning every thing through the medium of a dead language. Besides, who wants to know, for instance, that *utlagatus* is the Latin for an *outlaw*? Yet this is the word which Bishop Gibson constantly uses.

* If the "Diversions of Purley" had been written without any studious intermixture of political sentiments, which are totally unexpected in such a work, it might have produced the desirable effect of making us better acquainted and satisfied with our own language, and at the same time have extended the bounds of philological science.

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sent *language* of Englishmen is not that heterogeneous compound which some imagine, compiled from the jarring and corrupted elements of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, but completely Anglo-Saxon in its whole idiom and construction.

It may be supposed, perhaps, that the Danes, by their repeated ravages for so many years, which terminated at length in a temporary or partial subjugation of the country, must have considerably altered the national language. To this it may be answered, that the very nature of the Danish incursions and depredations prevented them from forming any numerous or permanent settlements among the inhabitants of this country; that the government continued in the Danish line of kings little more than twenty-five years; and that, even admitting that the language of these invaders was incorporated with that of the natives, it must be remembered, that it was only the addition of a kindred dialect, derived from the same Northern source, which from its mixture with the Saxon has very properly acquired the appellation of Dano-Saxon. This is the dialect which still prevails in most of the Northern counties of England, where the Danes made the most lasting impression. But, that the reception which both they and their language obtained in this country was of the most reluctant and unwelcome kind, is evident from the spirited resolution formed by the nobles and principal men in the kingdom immediately on the death of Hardyknute, the last of their three kings: "That no Dane should from that time be permitted to reign over England;—that all Danish soldiers in any city, town, or castle, should be either killed, or banished from the kingdom; and that

" "Tell me not" (says Lisle) "it is a *mingle-mangle*; for so are all: but the punishment of confusion we make not so much in other tongues, *because we know not them and their borrowing so well as our own.*" Pref. to Saxon Monuments, &c. Lond. 4to. 1638.

" who-

“ whoever should from that time dare to propose to the people a
 “ Danish sovereign, should be deemed a traitor to the govern-
 “ ment, and an enemy to his country ².”

Since then this temporary or partial usurpation of the *Danes* occasioned so little alteration in the ancient language and inhabitants of our island, let us examine, how far the more exorbitant and oppressive sway of the *Normans* tended to produce a more sensible impression.

The peculiar circumstances attending the usurpation of William the First undoubtedly afforded him an opportunity of completely establishing the feudal system in this country, with the utmost rigour and severity which that degrading state of vassalage was capable of admitting. In order to gratify and reward his followers and friends, he distributed amongst them the lands, the lordships, the bishoprics, the monasteries, and the churches, of the vanquished inhabitants, whom he dispossessed by the right of conquest, that is, the will of the conqueror, of all their ancient domains, as well as of all civil offices and places of trust; so that, for a century or two, a few Norman bishops and barons, enjoying the exclusive favour of the reigning monarch, or sometimes even teaching him to tremble on his throne, ruled the whole nation with a rod of iron, and presided over the lives and liberties of

² So eager were the people of England to restore the Saxon line of kings, that they appointed Edward, afterwards called the Confessor, to succeed Hardacnute even before he was *buried*! “ And ear than the he bebyrged wære, *eall folc ge-
 ceas* Eadward to cyng on Lundene.” (Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 1041.) The words in Italics, in conformity with many other passages, prove that the monarchy was *elective*, till the Norman usurpers and their minions introduced the doctrine of hereditary and indefeasible right supported *jure divino*. It required the genius of a Locke to bring us back to those principles of common sense, by which our Saxon ancestors were directed amidst the darkness and the despotism of the eleventh century!

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millions. Some are also of opinion ^a, that an ineffectual attempt was made to establish throughout the whole island that new-fangled language, which the Normans had acquired during their residence in that part of France to which they gave their name ^b. It is certain, indeed, that the greater part of the laws and public instruments of the kingdom, which were not written in Latin, were written in Norman French. But this was, perhaps, the natural effect of circumstances, rather than the result of any political determination. For it is well known, that there were also some charters written in the *Saxon* language, from the reign of William the First, even to that of Henry the Third ^c. We may likewise safely conclude, that the Saxon language, mixed indeed first with the Danish, and afterwards with the Norman French, still continued to be almost universally spoken, if not written, by the vulgar, till at length our present language was formed by a gradual combination of the different dialects spoken by the Norman barons and the native peasants of the country. In fact, the ancestors of those very Normans who settled in *Neustria*, like the Danes and Norwegians ^d, who were continually issuing from the same Northern hive, spoke a language not very different from the old Saxon; but being afterwards blended with the language of the natives, which was a corrupt species of Latin, built on the foun-

^a Hume, and others whose authority he follows. Hist. Eng. Vol. I: 8vo.

^b *Neustria*, since called *Normandy* from them.

^c There is one, frequently mentioned, of so late a date as 1258, 43 Hen. III. which has been printed by Lord Lyttelton and Dr. Henry in their histories of this period, as well as by many other writers, and is really curious.

^d *Norway* is an abbreviation of *North-way*, as the word *Norman* signifies a *Northern man*. The word *barbarian*, by which the Greeks and Romans stigmatized all those who did not partake of their elegant luxuries and refinements, signifies nothing more than a son of the North, a North-born man, *bor-bairn*! Hence Boreas for the North wind.

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dation of the ancient Gaelic^e or Celtic, it appeared quite in a new form when brought by the Normans into England. But the Norman, as well as the Danish families, were so few in comparison with the ancient inhabitants of the country, and their domineering conduct was so little calculated to recommend their vocabulary, that a preponderating portion of the Anglo-Saxon dialect continued for several centuries to be incorporated into our written as well as oral language, till by a natural process it began at length to predominate entirely over the other ingredients.

It is a just remark, that the mixture of two languages naturally and gradually forms a third, which is distinct from both. Thus our present language has been principally produced by an union of the Anglo-Saxon with the Norman French, but there are certainly some instances in which it materially differs from both. If however we examine the most simple specimens of our written language, or that which is used in our colloquial intercourse with each other on ordinary occasions, we shall find the average of Saxon words to be not less than *eight* out of *ten*, or, on the most moderate computation, *fifteen* out of *twenty*^f! Indeed, the learned

^e I say Gaelic, because I find Gaelic, Gaulic, Gaulish, Gwallish, Wallish, Walfh, Welsh, to be the regular gradation of oral and literal corruption. The Saxons, when they first came into England, called the Britons Weallas, or Welsh, and their brethren on the continent of Gaul, for the sake of distinction, Gaul-Weallas, or Gal-Weallas; which was as much as to say, "The Welshmen in Gaul." If we were better acquainted with the early *migrations of mankind*, we should find all nations and kindreds and tongues less separate and distinct from each other, than they are commonly supposed to be. But, unfortunately, we are too much occupied in puzzling ourselves about the *migrations of swallows*! Every department of natural history is interesting; but still let us remember,

"The proper study of MANKIND is MAN."

^f That is *four fifths*, or at the least *three fourths*! (See App. No. IV.)

Dr.

Dr. Hickes has already observed, that of fifty-eight words, of which the Lord's Prayer is composed, not more than *three* words only are of Gallo-Norman introduction; and those too are corruptions from the Latin, which cannot be said of the Saxons. The remaining *fifty-five* are immediately and originally derivable from the Anglo-Saxon ^h!

But, not to insist on such favourable proofs as these, where the language of our forefathers has been consecrated by religious use, and has thereby acquired a greater degree of stability, let us indiscriminately take as an example any passage from any of our best writers either in verse or prose, and we shall find on experiment, that the proportion of Saxon words is in general not less than what I have specified above; for instance, let us analyze the following exordium of Milton's *Paradise Lost*;—an exordium, which has been always admired for its majestic simplicity and unaffected grandeur of diction;—

Of man's first *disobedience*, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose *mortal*ⁱ taste

* It is obvious, that in this computation the doxology is omitted; though it is remarkable, that if it be included, there will be found not more than *six* words out of *seventy-three* which are not radically Saxon!

^h Some persons may suspect, that the Saxon preposition *on* is derived from the Latin *in*, *fy* from *fit*, *nama* from *nom-en*; though this will not be allowed by others; whereas all must agree, that *trespass*, *temptation*, and *deliver*, are words imported from Italy *via* France. For the satisfaction of the curious, I have added the Lord's Prayer and the two Creeds, still used in our Church, in the original Saxon. See the Appendix, No. IV.

ⁱ The etymology of the word *mortal* itself, notwithstanding its classical appearance, cannot be easily found in the Greek or Latin language; for what have we gained by knowing that *mortalis* is derived from *mors*? and how is the insertion of *t* in *mortis* to be accounted for? The Saxon word is *morth*; i. e. that *destructive* and unrelenting power which *marreth* (morreth, mor'th) all things under the sun! So the old Greek word *μῆτος*, explained by *θῆτος* in Hesychius, is the passive participle

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Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
 With loss of Eden, till one greater man
Restore us, and *regain* the blissful seat,
 Sing, heavenly *Muse*,—&c. &c. &c.

Here we shall find the proportion of Saxon words to be not less than four to one ! It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, particularly from our familiar conversation, to prove the intimate connection and the strong features of resemblance between our present language and that of our Saxon ancestors : but as there can be no doubt of the fact in the minds of those who have investigated the subject, and as it would require a volume to analyze minutely the various ingredients, and trace distinctly the gradual^k formation of the English *language*, let us proceed to consi-

tiple of the same verb, with the termination *or* added, as *mor'd*, *mort-or*. The word *regain* is of a hybrid species ; for, though it comes immediately from the French *regagner*, yet *re* is a Latin prefix, and *g'agner* is the same with the Saxon *ge-agnian*, or *ge-abnian*, to gain, to possess, to make one's own ; *ane*, Sax. The fact is, those words which have made a tour from the North of Europe through Greece, Italy, or France, have returned to us so altered, that we scarcely know them again ! (See the Appendix, No. IV.)

^k I say *gradual*, because I cannot agree with Mr. Ellis, (Specimens of Early English Poets, Vol. III. p. 424.) that " our vulgar English appears to have *very suddenly* superseded the pure and legitimate Saxon, from which its elements " were principally derived, instead of becoming its successor, as generally has " been supposed, by a *slow* and *imperceptible* process."—The process, indeed, however *slow*, has been by no means *imperceptible* to those who have compared the language of the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient specimens, with that of Robert of Gloucester, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, &c. and have thus traced the *gradual changes* which have taken place according to the natural course of events. It is remarkable, that Mr. Ellis himself, in a former part of his work, (Vol. I. p. 6.) has commended Dr. Johnson for having so accurately described the *gradations* by which the Saxon was *insensibly* melted into the English language ; and in other places he appears to think, as every person must on due reflection, that no material changes in language are, generally speaking, *suddenly* established.

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der at present, how far the study of Anglo-Saxon literature is connected with the original establishment of our *laws*, our *liberty*, and our *religion*.

That no man can shine¹ at the bar, in the senate, or in the pulpit, without a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon literature, it would be ridiculous to assert. But that a strong and steady light may be reflected from this quarter on many points of the municipal and common law, the theory of our political constitution, and the internal history of our religion, I trust no Englishman of the present day will venture to deny. Where is the lawyer, who will not derive an accession of solid information from a perusal of the Anglo-Saxon laws, published by Lambard, Wheloc, and Wilkins? not to mention the various charters and legal instruments that are still extant, together with the ancient records of our County-courts; on the foundation of which is erected the whole superstructure of our forensic practice^m. What patriot is there, whose heart does not burn within him, whilst he is reading the language in which the immortal Alfred and other Saxon kingsⁿ composed

¹ If any department of literature may be neglected, because men may *shine without it*, the argument may be extended to every branch of *profound* learning; for perhaps, in general, those persons *shine most* who possess the *least*.

^m Even Mr. Hume, with all his predilection in favour of France and the Norman Conqueror, readily admits, "that none of the feudal governments in Europe had such institutions as the County-courts, which *the great authority of the Conqueror still retained from the Saxon customs!*" Whether we owe the preservation of these courts to the *authority* or *indulgence* of the Conqueror, or to certain circumstances of *policy* and *necessity*, may admit of a doubt. "Perhaps this institution of County-courts in England" (continues Mr. Hume) "has had greater effects on the government, than has yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries." Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 122. note *n*, 8vo. ed. 1786.

ⁿ I have taken the liberty of joining *other* Saxon monarchs with the incomparable Alfred; because, much as I venerate the memory of that genuine hero of

the elements of our envied code of laws, and portrayed the grand outlines of our free constitution? And when the Divine contemplates a work so extraordinary as the translation of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History, as well as the various other works of piety translated by King Alfred into his native language, will he not be filled with additional admiration of that Providence, by which a wise and benevolent monarch was led, amidst the horrors and difficulties of continual warfare, to inform the manners, regulate the conduct, and enlighten the minds, of his rude and illiterate subjects?—The whole fabric of our laws, indeed, ecclesiastical as well as civil^o, is built on a Saxon foundation. The criminal law of every country undergoes considerable and frequent changes in the progress of national refinement; but the structure of the civil code and of municipal regulations, as well as

our country, I cannot find that we owe quite so much to him as some have supposed. In the fervency of our love, our admiration, and our gratitude, we have ascribed to him an imaginary *doom-book*, or code of laws, of his own invention, which Sir William Blackstone, misled by former writers of great authority, supposes to be, unfortunately, LOST! I hope at some future time more fully to investigate this curious subject, relating to the Anglo-Saxon laws. At present I must rest satisfied with assuring those, who reverence the name of Alfred as much as I do, THAT NO DOOM-BOOK, OR CODE OF LAWS, OF HIS PROMULGATION, AS FAR AS I CAN DISCOVER, IS LOST; but the only digest of laws which he appears to have compiled is STILL IN EXISTENCE, and is no other than such as many other Saxon monarchs composed for the better government of their subjects; a *doom-book* (Saxonice *dom-boc*) being nothing more nor less than a digest or collection of *dooms*, decrees, or written laws. King *Ethelbert's* doom-book is still extant, and stands the first in the collection published by Dr. Wilkins.

° I do not here, or in any other part of this Essay, wish to be understood as using the word *civil* in the strictly *legal* sense; because I am well aware, that what is properly called the *civil*, in contradistinction to the *common* law, is chiefly extracted from the Theodosian code and the Pandects of Justinian.

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the general complexion of the common law, continues, like the forms of government, to be maintained and supported in the same state for many ages. Accordingly we find, that, though many barbarous modes of punishment^p, adopted by our Saxon ancestors, have been long since abolished, yet the remains of their civil and municipal customs and regulations are still visible in our cities, towns, and villages. We have an obvious and striking proof of this even in our modern names of offices, terms of police, and titles of honour; as there is at this moment scarcely a civil magistrate or a parochial officer, from the highest denomination to the lowest, whose duty, rank, and qualifications are not emphatically comprized in a Saxon appellation^q.

Nor ought we to omit to mention, that to our Saxon ancestors has been generally attributed that envied Palladium of English liberty, the trial by *Jury*! And, though the learned Dr. Hickes is of opinion, that this celebrated form of juridical decision was not introduced into our courts of justice till the reign of Henry the Second, being brought, as he thinks, immediately from Norman-

^p Such as the ordeal, by fire and water, deprivation of the eyes, mutilation, pecuniary compensations for the most atrocious crimes, fasting (that is, abstaining from *animal* food) for a number of *years*, living on bread and water every day, *except Sundays*, &c, &c! The Normans appear to have been more fond of *hanging* their culprits, or of using still more barbarous punishments. Alfred, indeed, ordered some *Danish pirates* to be hanged at Winchester in the year 897; but it does not appear to have been a common punishment for criminals of *our own country* till the coming of the Normans. (Vide Chron. Saxon.)

^q Conyng or Cyning, the man of superior *cunning*, capacity, and talent, is contracted into *King*; Conyng-stapel is become by corruption *Constable*, the *staple* or support of the King; Sheriff is the rapid pronunciation of Shire-reve, the *reef* of the shire, the protector and guardian of the county. Mayor, (i. e. May-er, the man of superior power; not from *major*, Lat.) Alderman, (elder-man,) tything-man, &c, &c, are obvious. See more in Verstegan's "Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities," &c.

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dy, and originally from Scandinavia ; yet his elaborate examination of the subject seems only to prove, that the jurors or arbitrators were then first *limited* to the mysterious number TWELVE^r ! For, that this fundamental *principle* of justice regulated the public proceedings of our Saxon ancestors, is evident even from those very records and legal instruments that are quoted by Dr. Hickes^s, as well as from many others, in which *all* the freeholders and principal men of a county, forming, as it were, a *grand jury*, *not restricted in number*, are represented as meeting together, to hear and determine^t all causes whatever, whether of a public or personal nature. The same pure principle of practical equity has from time immemorial pervaded not only our great courts of justice, but also the inferior courts of our manerial lords, where all local matters are, or ought to be, according to ancient custom, regularly presented and adjusted by a jury of the principal landholders or copyholders, *not restricted to the number twelve*, forming what is called the *homage*^u.

^r “ Perinde ac in ipso hoc numero secreta quædam efflet *religio* !” says Sir Henry Spelman on the same subject. Dr. Hickes says expressly in a note, (p. 40. Disser. Epistol.) “ Juratores vel jurata Domini regis *Affisa* dicuntur, quod eorum “ *numerus tunc primum affisus, i. e. definitus fuit.*” A different explanation is generally given of *affisa* by most of our lawyers. From *affis*, the participle of the French verb *affoir*, to sit, is formed *affize*. (Vide Spelman’s Glossary, in voc. *Affisa*, et *Jurata*.)

^s When I wrote this, I was not aware, that Bishop Nicolson had previously discussed this question at large *against* Dr. Hickes. See his learned Preface to the Anglo-Saxon Laws edited by Dr. Wilkins, fol. Lond. 1721.

^t The sessions of *oyer & terminer* are merely different forms of the same proceedings, with a Norman appellation. I hope therefore to be forgiven for anticipating the phrase.

^u Though this word is of Norman introduction, the practice perhaps is not. *To do homage*, however, (*faire homage*) appears to be Norman both in expression and practice ; derived probably from the servile purposes for which homage-juries were

It is remarkable, that when Earl Godwin and his son Harold were cited to appear before Edward the Confessor at London, they were allowed the privilege of being *attended by twelve men*; whilst their cause was tried and determined by an assembly of ALL the nobles! What essential difference is there in the trial of a nobleman of the present day, who is allowed every privilege consistent with the splendour of his rank, and is finally acquitted or condemned by a MAJORITY of the WHOLE HOUSE of which he is a member?—It appears then, that among our Saxon ancestors the affairs of individuals, particularly those of superior rank and dignity, were examined with as much attention and solemnity as the affairs of the nation; and as the reigning monarch held his court at different places, or convened his elders and thanes for local as well as general purposes, the cause of an individual was often tried before the same *Assembly of the Wise*^x, which regulated the concerns of the state. And so attentive were our Saxon kings to the liberties of the people, that they seem never to have transacted any business of importance, without having previously consulted this *great Assembly of the Wise*, consisting of the elders and nobles who formed the grand council of the nation y. Who does

were sometimes assembled by the Norman barons. (Vide Spelman's Glossary in voc. *Homagium*, &c.)

^x *Witena-gemot*, Sax. from *witena*, the genitive case plural of the substantive *wita*, a wise man, a counsellor, a *cunning wight*, and *gemot*, a meeting, an assembly, a *moot*. Qu. Might not the legal phrase, a *moot-point*, be derived from *gemot*, a *moot*, or meeting; i. e. a doubtful point, to be determined at a general meeting, a *witenagemot*?—*ge* in Saxon is merely a guttural prefix, and the same word is indifferently used with or without it.

y And therefore sometimes called the *micel-gemot*, *mickle-meeting*, or great assembly. It was composed of the ealdormen, aldermen, or elders, men of age and experience; earls, or earls; and thegnas, theynes, or thanes. These last were either king's thanes, or earl's thanes. (Vid. Spelm. Gloss.)

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not perceive here the germ of the English constitution, the spirit which guides the wisest and the best of our kings, and the principle of our national pre-eminence? What are our present *Parliaments*, but the revival of the free and simple *witena-gemotes* of our Saxon ancestors? It is remarkable indeed, that the establishment of this bulwark of our constitution is coeval with the destruction of Norman tyranny, and the recovery of Saxon freedom; for, however historians may differ with respect to the precise æra of the first assembling of a *Parliament*², we may well rest assured, that there is nothing French or Norman in it but the name³.

That the pure and holy *religion* which we profess can derive any assistance from the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature, those perhaps will be disposed to deny, whose enthusiastic imaginations have led them to believe, that no human study, no human learning, can promote the extension or invigoration of that divine principle, which must be caught by some immediate communication with the Deity. Yet the same persons on this ground must allow, that the Anglo-Saxon language is of as much service to the cause of religion as any *other*; and, considered with a view to that system of religious discipline which was established at the Reformation, as well as to the general history of the Christian Church, its utility will be confessed by many to be unquestionably great.

² The only question seems to be, "At what time were the representatives of "counties, cities, and boroughs, admitted to form a constituent and distinct part "of the *King's* Parliament, under the denomination of the House of Commons?" Vide Spelm. Gloss. in voc. *Parliamentum*, and the historical Treatise written by Dr. Brady on this subject; London, fol. 1690, 1711, &c.

³ Some etymologists and lawyers derive the word *parliament* from *parlâre la mēte*, Ital. because a member of Parliament ought "to speak his mind judiciously," says Sir E. Coke. But *parlement*, Fr. from *parler*, is more obvious and probable. *Colloquium* is the word used in the old writs to the Sheriffs.

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The Romanists, however, will tell us, that we owe no part of our ecclesiastical system to our Saxon ancestors, because *they* received it from the Church of *Rome*. It is well known, indeed, that there is no religious establishment in Europe, which has not derived some inherent stains from this polluted source. But as the Church of Rome was less corrupt at that early period, when the Gospel was introduced amongst our Saxon ancestors, so the system of religious discipline established in this island at that time was by no means so degrading as it afterwards became, when the encroachments of that oppressive hierarchy began to threaten the total subjugation of Europe.

It is pleasing to observe the striking contrast which is exhibited between this domineering spirit of the Romish priesthood, and the affectionate concern of King Alfred for the religious welfare of his subjects. We behold this excellent monarch leaving the cares of empire and the tumults of war, to translate from Latin into Saxon^b, for the benefit of his rude and illiterate people, Gregory's Pastoral, or some other work of moral or religious instruction, at a time when many of his bishops, as he himself informs us, were totally ignorant of the Latin language. In short, the various works of piety and devotion, which are still extant in the Saxon language, not to mention the curious translations of the most material parts of the Old and New Testament, may be consulted with advantage by the theological student of the present day, as they satisfactorily prove the purity of our primitive Church, and its agreement with the established form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, as it was settled at the Reformation^c. I cannot therefore better conclude this part of the

^b *Not from Saxon into Latin*, which is the modern practice!

^c The very festivals and ceremonies which were then retained were nearly the same that were observed by our Saxon ancestors. See the *Menologium Poeticum*,

subject, than in the words of a FEMALE writer^d, of very learned and various accomplishments, who, to the honour both of herself and of her sex, at the desire and recommendation of Dr. Hickes, translated into English, with copious notes, an Anglo-Saxon Homily on the birthday of St. Gregory, the Roman Pontiff, who first caused the Gospel to be preached amongst our Pagan ancestors of the *sixth century* ! “ This is some, no small satisfaction that we
 “ reap from Saxon learning ; that we see the agreement of the
 “ *reformed* and the ancient *Saxon* Church ; that it is no *new*
 “ Church, but the same it was before the Roman Church was
 “ corrupted ; before the Roman Church, as now corrupted, not-
 “ withstanding her boasts of infallibility, of antiquity, and univer-
 “ sality, was known, or had a being in the world^e ! ”

III. I might here extend the subject of this Lecture to a considerable length, by enumerating a variety of collateral advantages, which not only Englishmen, but many other nations also in common with ourselves, may derive from the cultivation of the

or Dano-Saxon Calendar, with the notes of Dr. Hickes in his *Theaurus*, p. 203. Vol. I. fol. Oxon. 1705.

^d ELIZABETH ELSTON, sister to Mr. William Elston, Fellow of University College, Oxford, who also cultivated Anglo-Saxon literature. This ingenious lady was patronized by Queen Caroline ; she was well known to all the literary characters of her time, and was the first person, if I mistake not, appointed to superintend the education of the present Duke of Portland. Her letters are in the Bodleian Library.

^e Preface to her “ *English-Saxon Homily, &c.* ” p. xiv. To this work, which was printed at London, 1709, and is a good specimen of the elegant typography of Mr. Bowyer, adorned with beautiful engravings by Gribelin, we may apply the concise but well-turned compliment which Quintilian has paid to the oration composed by the daughter of Hortensius : “ *legitur non tantum in sexus hopo-rem.* ”

Saxon

Saxon language. I might remark, not only its intimate connection with nearly all the present languages of Europe ;—of England, Scotland^f, and Ireland,—of Lapland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland,—of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Swisserland,—but also its high claim to antiquity from its near resemblance in many instances to the earliest symbols of organic sounds, whether in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, Persian, Celtic, Gaelic, or *Cimmerian* & ! But as the philosophy of language is a science yet in its infancy, and it may be long before we can expect that great *desideratum* in literature to be produced, a *synoptical view of universal Grammar*^h, at present it will be more pru-

^f The language spoken in the Low-lands, especially the East coast, of that country, is allowed by Mr. Hume to be *purely Saxon* ; but on this fact he builds another not quite so correct, that King Ida, and his grandson Ethelfrid, penetrated into this part of Scotland, and joined it to the vast kingdom of Northumberland ; and he concludes, that the whole district was therefore peopled in a great measure from Germany ! It is surprizing, that Mr. Hume should have overlooked a more probable solution of this fact ; the flight of Edgar Atheling, and the establishment of a great number of Saxon families in Scotland after the conquest !

^g I call the *Welsh* language by this name ; for the *Cymru*, *Cimmerii*, *Cimbrii*, *Cimbri*, *Cambri*, (or *Cambrians*,) are allowed by most antiquaries to be the same with the *Cimmerians* of *Homer*. The Welsh and the Saxon are not so widely asunder as may be imagined.

^h The science of GRAMMAR has been much debased by the ignorance of some, and the negligence of others, who

“ Quæ pueri didicere, senes perdenda fatentur ;”

but let us remember the fine encomium which Quintilian has left us of this noble science when properly cultivated : “ Neceffaria pueris, jucunda fenibus, dulcis fecretorum comes, et quæ vel fola omni ftudiorum genere plus habet operis quam ostentationis. Ne quis igitur tanquam parva fastidiat GRAMMATICES elementa : non quia magnæ fit operæ, confonantes a vocalibus difcernere, ipfasque eas in femivocalium numerum mutarumque partiri ; fed quia interiora velut facri bujus adeptibus apparebit multa rerum fubtilitas, quæ non modo acuere ingenia puerilia,

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dent to confine our attention to a few leading points of less difficulty and inferior importance.

No person can doubt of the indispensable utility of Saxon literature in elucidating the topography and antiquities of our own island, in explaining our proper names and the origin of families, in illustrating our provincial dialects and local customs; all which are the memorials of the ancient manners and character of our ancestors, and without a knowledge of which every Englishman must be imperfectly acquainted with the history of his own country.

It would be an invidious and an endless task to comment on the many imperfections, omissions, and errors, which are constantly to be observed in all those grammars, glossaries, lexicons, and dictionaries, that have been compiled by learned men, who, unfortunately, were not furnished with an adequate knowledge of the radical languages of ancient Europe, with respect to which, indeed, the more polished languages of Greece and Rome, with all their varieties of inflexions and terminations, are comparatively MODERN¹! Dr. Hickes has already remarked the numerous deficiencies and mistakes, to which some of the most learned writers before his time were unavoidably subject, in consequence of the imperfect state of Saxon literature in this country; which arose from the scarcity of printed books, and the difficulty of consulting manuscripts^k. Dr. Hickes himself is not always an infallible

"sed exercere altissimam quoque eruditionem ac scientiam possit!" Quint. de Inst. Orat. I. 4, 5, 6.

¹ See a hint of this kind in the second volume of *Εκτα υπερωτα*.

^k This cannot now be urged in excuse for Mr. Hume, who in *one* page of his History has been guilty of *three* egregious misrepresentations of a passage in Bede, which a reference to King Alfred's Saxon translation would have corrected. See the account of St. Augustine's mission to England, where Pope Gregory answers some

guide ; but he was the first of Septentrional scholars, who, by the publication of a laborious THESAURUS, paved the way for a more accurate and copious knowledge of all the Northern languages, which, since the destruction of the Roman empire, have been incorporated, more or less, into all the languages of modern Europe, and have even penetrated into Asia, WHENCE PERHAPS THEY ORIGINALLY SPRUNG !

Some acquaintance therefore with these languages is absolutely necessary to those European scholars, who are desirous of acquiring *a scientific synopsis of universal Grammar*, as well as an accurate perception of their own vernacular idiom¹.

And that the Anglo-Saxon language has a peculiar share of importance and interest ; that it is capable of elucidating the principles of grammatical science, and of leading us to a philosophical theory of language, has been sufficiently shewn by the ingenious author of the "Diversions of Purley^m." Indeed, an exclusive

some curious questions of the Missionary, and compare it with the original passages in the 27th chapter, B. I. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, to which Mr. Hume refers.

¹ It has been said, that language is the mere vehicle of ideas—but how could we communicate the ideas to each other *without* the vehicle ? And perhaps it may be said, that the more languages we learn, the more *vehicles* we possess, the more comprehensive and philosophical will be our stock of ideas, and the more intimately shall we become acquainted with the manners, the sentiments, and the characters, of all the nations of the earth ! The Emperor Charles V. said finely, "Autant de langues qu'on sçait, autant de fois on est homme !" A sentiment truly royal, and practically recommended by the example of the great Mithridates of Pontus, who spoke the languages of *two and twenty* nations, or, as some say, *five and twenty*, who were subject to his dominion. Vide Valer. Max. et Aul. Gell.

^m Since this was written, the second volume of this extraordinary work has been published, which is equally acute with the former, and equally unpalatable from the introduction of political matter.

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attention to the more learned and refined languages has too frequently beguiled men of the greatest talents and erudition into very erroneous conclusions on philological subjects ⁿ.

If we consult merely our own pleasure in reading, perhaps there cannot be a doubt, that every person of a classical taste, and elegant turn of mind, will be disposed to dedicate the greatest portion of his time to the immortal volumes of ancient Greece and Rome, and to the works of the best historians, statesmen, poets, and philosophers, of modern Europe. But, if we would acquire an enlarged and comprehensive view of the history of MAN; if we would trace his progress from ignorance to knowledge, from rudeness to refinement; if we would observe, how his complicated improvements in speech have maintained an uniform correspondence with the gradual expansion of his mind; if we would remark, how regularly his distinctive variety of words has increased in the same proportion as he has enlarged the circle of his ideas; if from the investigation of these circumstances we would endeavour to add to the public stock of information on a very abstruse but highly interesting subject; we must examine the written symbols of organic sounds adopted in the most remote ages and nations, and in the most rude as well as in the most refined periods of society; we must study, if I may use the expression, the *comparative anatomy* of human language; we must

ⁿ To this cause must be attributed the reveries of Plato, Varro, and Cicero, with respect to the etymology of the Greek and Latin languages; the mistakes even of the GREAT FOUNDERS OF THE HEMSTERHUSIAN SCHOOL of Greek and Latin literature; and the more pardonable and innocent errors of Mr. Harris, the philosopher of Salisbury, who appears to have trusted too implicitly to the guidance of his GRECIAN HERMES! With regard to the ancients, the following are the words of L. C. Valcknaër: "Veritatis est exploratissimæ, veteres tam Græcos quam Latinos, in linguæ vernaculæ natura et indole cœcutivisse UNIVERSOS!" *Observationes ad Origines Græcas*, p. 2.

dissect,

dissect, we must analyze, we must disunite, and compare; we must descend from the gratifying spectacle of symmetry and proportion, to the most minute combination of two or more component parts; we must not only trace the operations of the human mind in the sublime flights of poetry, the copious streams of eloquence, and the abstruse paths of abstract science and philosophy; we must also consider man in the infancy of society, and in the infancy of life^o; we must divest him of his *eight*^p parts of speech, and hear him deliver his thoughts with little more assistance than that of a *noun* and a *verb* only^q; we must tear from him, however reluctantly, that gaudy plumage, those borrowed wings, (*ἰνία πτερσεντα*,) composed of soft and beautiful feathers *hermetically* ad-

* The language of most nations in an early period of society or civilization resembles the language of children; but varies according to the character and situation of the people; rough among warlike tribes, and soft among those of a more voluptuous turn, as among the natives of a warm and luxurious climate. The islanders of the Pacific Ocean, in the unaffected enunciation of infantile imbecillity, metamorphosed the rugged names of Captain *Cooke* and Doctor *Sparman* into *Tootie* and *Pamancee*.

^p Modern Grammarians have almost uniformly agreed in dividing human speech into *eight* parts; Aristotle indeed has comprehended the constituent parts of it under the same *octonary* division; (Poet. c. 34. ed. Tyrwhitt.) but his analysis is far more rational and satisfactory; though it has been misunderstood and neglected. He philosophically examines the complicated structure of *all language*, (*λεξιως ἀπασις*,) and traces the formation of *all diction*, (metrical or prosaic,) from a simple *element* or letter (*στοιχείον*) to a complete *sentence*, or a finished composition, (*λογος*.)

^q Lest the doctrine of resolving all language, *etymologically*, into *nouns* and *verbs* should be considered as *new* and *heretical*, I beg leave to transcribe the following words of J. D. à Lennep: "Quæ, præter VERBA et NOMINA, numerantur partes *orationis*, ea vel ad *verba*, vel ad *nomina*, proprie referenda sunt; nisi sint quædam INTERJECTIONES." Prolegom. ad Etymol. Ling. Græc. Traj. ad Rhen. 1790. Lennep began his etymological work in the year 1762! (V. Aristot. et Hor.)

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justed, by which he has been enabled to soar with triumphant glory to the highest regions of human fancy ! We must behold him a poor defenceless creature, surrounded with wants which he struggles to express, and agitated by sensations which he labours to communicate ! We shall then see, how various causes of a local, temporary, and arbitrary nature, have influenced his ideas, and the language in which he has embodied them. In this point of view, therefore, the language of our Saxon ancestors, of which some specimens remain of considerable antiquity, will appear highly interesting and important to the philosophical enquirer ; and perhaps it would be difficult to find any work of any age or nation, which is calculated to throw greater light on the theory of language in general, than the Saxon Chronicle, which is the most valuable original composition extant in that language. This ancient and curious document, having been compiled at different intervals of time, according to the regular succession of events, may be considered, independently of its merits as a faithful register of historical facts, as a kind of chronological memorial of the progress of our national language ; comprehending no less than *three* distinct and important æras, in the course of about six hundred years, which may be denominated *Anglo-Saxon*, *Dano-Saxon*, (or Anglo-Danish,) and *Norman-Saxon*, (or Anglo-Norman^r.) But as my limits will not allow me to enter fully at present into the investigation of this curious subject, and as there are many others connected with it which seem to require a sepa-

^r These are the three grand *dialects* of the Saxon tongue, which are as different and distinct as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Attic dialects of the Greek language. These points I intend more fully to investigate in an Essay which I am preparing on the gradual formation of the English language, and the history of its progress through all its important changes.

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rate discussion, I beg leave to defer the further consideration of these objects of enquiry to some future opportunity*.

* These objects of enquiry it was my intention to have pursued with unceasing perseverance, in such a manner as to arrange them for a regular series of Lectures; but the multiplicity of my avocations and engagements, and that variety of circumstances and events, which happens to every man more or less in his progress through life, have occasionally so diverted my attention from antiquarian research, that I have been often obliged to tread the same ground over again, without making any satisfactory progress. I have found it necessary also, to cultivate an acquaintance with other Northern languages in addition to the Saxon; and when it is considered, that Professor Wheloc at Cambridge consumed a considerable part of seven years, as he himself assures us, in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Saxon only, no apology, I trust, will be expected on my part for an unwillingness to present any crude or superficial productions before the University or the public. In addition, however, to many grammatical and philological enquiries, I am now preparing a few essays on the following subjects:

- I. On the Saxon Chronicle; with specimens of an English translation of that original document.
- II. On the gradual formation of the English language upon the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon.
- III. On Saxon Poetry; comprehending the Dano-Saxon and Norman-Saxon.
- IV. On the laws, government, religion, manners, &c. of the Saxons.
- V. On what is called Saxon architecture, &c. &c.

APPENDIX I.

Page 1.

AS the printed copies of Dr. Rawlinson's Will and Endowment (London, 1755.) are now become very scarce, it is hoped that the following extracts may be found useful, as authentic documents, to those who shall be at any time concerned in the institution, and not unacceptable to others.

Dr. Richard Rawlinson, or, as he styles himself in various places, "the worshipful Richard Rawlinson, of London-house in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London, Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, and Fellow of the Royal Society," did, by his Endowment, dated August 11, 1750, and confirmed by his last Will and Testament, dated

^a He was also a member of the Society of Antiquaries, who at that time held their meetings at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet-Street; to whom in his Will he bequeaths all his dyes and matrices of English seals and for medals, all his copper-plates, whether etched or engraved, of seals, charters, and other curiosities, together with a freehold and copyhold estate at Fulham, "upon condition that they do not upon any terms, or by any stratagem, arts, means, or contrivance howsoever, increase or add to their present number of one hundred and fifty members," &c! The Society, not willing to be thus restricted by an individual, forfeited their claim to these bequests by adding to their number, and in the second and third Codicils annexed to his Will he revoked and made void all his former legacies made, devised, or given to the Society, in and by his said Will and in the first Codicil annexed thereto, transferring the greater part to the University of Oxford; and the estates at Fulham "to the Principal and Fellows of *Hertford College*, and to their successors for ever, in order to augment and increase the salary of the Principal thereof for the time being."

June 2, 1752, give and bequeath unto the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, and their successors for ever, certain annual or fee-farm rents, reserved, issuing, or payable out of or for certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Lancashire, (mentioned and described in the Endowment,) “to the end, intent, and purpose, by and out of
 “the said annual or fee-farm rents, to found, constitute, and establish, and
 “from time to time to support, uphold, and maintain, *one Anglo-Saxon Lecture or Professorship* in the said University, to have continuance for ever,
 “and to be ruled, governed, directed, and regulated by and under such rules, orders, and constitutions as the said Richard Rawlinson shall at any time
 “hereafter in writing direct, limit, and appoint; and, for want of such directions, limitations, and appointment, to be ruled, governed, directed,
 “and regulated by and under such rules, statutes, orders, and constitutions,
 “as the said Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the said University and
 “their successors shall from time to time by any public act or otherwise
 “in their discretion direct, limit, and appoint.”

The first Trustees appointed by Dr. Rawlinson in his last Will and Testament, dated June 2, 1752, exclusive of those to whom the grant of the rents in Lancashire was confirmed, were the following: “The Vice-Chancellor and two Proctors of the University of Oxford for the time being,
 “together with the President for the time being of St. John’s College in the same University; Thomas Bowdler, of Ashley in the county of Wilts, Esquire; Mr. Robert Gordoun of Theobald, otherwise Tibald’s-court, in Theobald, or Tibald’s-row, near Red-Lyon Square, Holborn; and Mr. John Pierce of Took’s-court in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, London, Gentlemen;”—to whom afterwards in his first Codicil, dated June 17, 1752, he superadded—“the Regius Professors for the time being of Divinity, Law, Physic, and of the Hebrew and Greek languages. And my will is,” (he continues,) “that when any two of the Trustees shall die, the remaining survivors, together with the Vice-Chancellor, President, (of St. John’s,) and Proctors, shall within three calendar months choose two other persons to supply the vacancy: in which elections, if the numbers be equal, the Vice-Chancellor shall have the casting
 “vote.”

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Extract from the same Codicil.—“ I do appoint the Convocation of the
 “ University of Oxford, if they kindly accept of my settlement made in
 “ August one thousand seven hundred and fifty, to be the electors of the
 “ Professor therein named. Which place I direct to become vacant every
 “ TEN ^b years; *and that the several Colleges of the same University do enjoy*
 “ *it one after another upon every vacancy*; and that my own College of St.
 “ John Baptist, where I had the happiness to be educated, *shall have the*
 “ *first and every fifth turn*. And I do further direct, that such Professor
 “ or Lecturer, so from time to time to be elected, *shall continue a bachelor*
 “ *and single man, so long as he shall hold the said Professorship, and enjoy the*
 “ *profits of the said endowments*. And I do require, that the persons so
 “ elected *be regular not created graduates*, and such as have performed the
 “ usual exercises for their degree, and paid the fees, but without impeach-
 “ ment to our honoured Chancellor’s common letters.”

Extract from the second Codicil, dated July 25, 1754.—“ I do declare,
 “ and it is my true intent and meaning, *that no native of Scotland or of*
 “ *Ireland, or of any of the plantations abroad, or any of their or either of*
 “ *their sons, or any present or future member of the Royal or Antiquary So-*
 “ *cieties*, shall have, take, receive, or enjoy any profit, benefit, or advantage
 “ from, by, or out of any part of my estate, real or personal, which I have
 “ heretofore given, devised, or bequeathed for the foundation of any Lec-
 “ ture, or to any charitable or public use, *or be capable of being elected into*
 “ *any Professorship of my foundation*.”

Extract from the fourth Codicil, dated February 14, 1755.—“ Whereas
 “ by my Will ^c I have limited the time for the enjoyment of the Lecturer’s
 “ place under my settlement (now in the hands of Dr. Derham, President
 “ of St. John’s,) to the term of *ten* years; I do hereby reduce the same to
 “ *five* years, and that St. John’s College shall have every fifth turn. And
 “ I do direct, that before every election so much of my Will and Codicils
 “ as relate to the qualifications for the office of Lecturer, [and also for the
 “ office of Keeper of the Museum at Oxford,] be first publicly read.”

^b Afterwards in the *fourth* Codicil limited to *five* years.

^c See the first Codicil, dated June 17, A. D. 1752.

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That it was the intention of Dr. Rawlinson to make known the nature of his endowment, and to give it every kind of publicity, appears not only from the above extract, but from the following direction in his Will: "I do require, that a copy of this my Will, and of every future Codicil or Codicils, be given by my Executors to Mr. James Fletcher the younger of Oxford, bookseller, to whom I do hereby give leave and power to print and publish the same at his expence and for his own benefit, in order to perpetuate the same, and be a check upon all concerned, as well as to be a direction to them."

With respect to the restrictive clauses in this Endowment, however much to be regretted, we must recollect, that they arose from a certain train of political and religious sentiments, which at the time were by no means peculiar to Dr. Rawlinson.

APPENDIX II.

Pages 1 and 10.

BISHOP Gibson, in his *Life of Sir Henry Spelman*^a, and Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, in his *Life of Mr. Somner*^b, have both endeavoured to account for the loss which the University of Cambridge and the public have sustained by the failure of Sir Henry Spelman's endowment of a Saxon Professorship. But there is some difference in their statements of the causes which led to its extinction. Bishop Gibson, without referring to any authority, tells us in few words, "that Sir Henry and his "eldest son (Sir John Spelman) both dying in the compass of two years, "and the civil wars breaking forth, and their estate being also sequestered, "the family became incapable of accomplishing the design." This account, though partly true, appears incorrect in some degree; for Mr. Somner, who published his *Saxon Dictionary* in the year 1659, *only one year before the restoration of King Charles the Second*, in the Dedication of that work to Roger Spelman, Esq. the *grandson of Sir Henry*, expressly mentions his having succeeded to the *annual stipend*, which Professor Wheloc *enjoyed till his death*; and, that he had no doubt he should continue to receive it without interruption, is evident from the gratitude which he expresses to his benefactor: "tanquam meo non in præsens solum, sed et "*perpetuo studiorum meorum Patrono et Mæcenati*." The circumstances which led to the separation of the Vicarage of Middleton from the annual

^a Prefixed to his edition of his *English Works*, first published in the year 1695, and, more correctly, fol. Lond. 1723, the year of his translation from Lincoln to London.

^b Prefixed to Somner's "*Treatise of the Roman Ports, &c.*" published by James Brome, "M. A. &c. Oxford, printed at the Theater, 1693."

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stipend are somewhat remarkable. Mr. Spelman, on the death of Professor Wheloc, had selected the Rev. Samuel Foster as a proper person to succeed him; but Archbishop Usher in the mean time recommended Mr. Somner, for his knowledge of the Saxon language, and his laudable undertaking, in which he had then advanced a considerable way, the compilation of a Saxon Dictionary. To the credit and satisfaction of all parties concerned, the difficulty was thus removed; Mr. Foster accepted the living, but relinquished the Professorship; and Mr. Somner was consequently appointed, though personally unknown both to Mr. Spelman and to Mr. Foster. It is probable, that this unfortunate separation of the ecclesiastical preferment from the stipend of the Professor, however amicably or honourably adjusted at the time, was the true cause of the decay of this endowment at Cambridge; and the account of Bishop Kennet^c, which certainly rests on better authority than that of Bishop Gibson, confirms the supposition. I have been thus particular in examining a point, of no very general interest perhaps, but connected intimately with the history of Anglo-Saxon literature, because I find an erroneous statement of the case in the life of Sir Henry Spelman in the Biographia Britannica, which differs entirely from the account given in the same work in the life of Mr. Somner. The following instances of inaccuracy may serve to shew how far the contents of that article are to be relied on. The word *heros* (which is frequently applied by Wheloc, in the Preface to his edition of Bede, to the *hero* of Saxon literature, Sir Henry Spelman) being mistaken for *hæres*, the writer has asserted, that Wheloc was recommended^d to Sir Henry Spelman by his son and heir, Sir John Spelman^e!—Again, Wheloc having told us, in the same

^c Life of Mr. Somner, page 72. Oxford, 1693.

^d In fact, he was recommended to the University at a meeting in Sydney College by *Archbishop Usher*, as a proper person to accept the endowment: "sub auspiciis Reverendissimi Ar-
"machani, &c." Vide Dedic. five Præf. ad Academ. Cantabrig. p. 2.

^e The words of Wheloc are: "Accessit postea et hoc; ut *beros* me huic muneri præfenti
"non illiberali quidem commendaverit," &c. And in another place: "Senex prope octoge-
"narius—minerval annuum—in literas hæc, sive publice legendo, sive Codices MSS. in lu-
"cem edendo, (et libros Saxonicos publici juris faciendo, *Præf. p. 2.*) promovendas desig-
"navit."

Preface.

Preface, that Sir Henry Spelman often employed him to read Saxon Manuscripts, &c. to him in the public Library at Cambridge^f, and, in the Dedication, that Archbishop Usher *proposed* to him, in the year 1640, to read and explain the Saxon Gospels^g, the writer of this article, joining these two facts together, and misrepresenting both, assures us, without the least hesitation, "that *Archbishop Usher* heard *Wheloc read lectures* on the Saxon "language in the University of Cambridge!" (Biogr. Brit. art. Spelman.)

^f "Concilia Britannica in lucem editurus, me sæpe ut *anagnosta*, at sæpius ut *discipule*, "usus est." Præfat. ad Lectorem, pag. 2. edit. Cantabrig. fol.

^g "Mihique ipse Præful amplifsimus Saxonica Evangelia auditoribus ex idiomate Saxonum antiquo aperienda tunc quidem (1640.) *proposuit*. Absit igitur ut integerfimi herois exemplum et vota *prorsus* exciderent, aut respublica literaria ingrata reticentia injuriam pateretur. Sed, dum recolo liberaliores hæc mentis et industriæ occupationes a vestris primo suffragiis profectas esse, continuo in mentem mihi subit, oportere me specimen aliquod *gratitudinis*, quantillumcunque, idque de thesauris antiquitatum vestris, tersum ab annofo pulvere, expolitumque, vobis offerre." He therefore published his Latino-Saxon edition of Bede, &c. Cant. 1644. (Vid. Dod. five Præf. ad Academ. Cantabrig. &c.)

APPENDIX III.

Pages 14 and 16.

ARCHBISHOP Parker, in the Preface to his edition of Affer's Life of Alfred, alludes to the publication of the Saxon Gospels in these words: "Quatuor Evangelia eadem lingua" (Saxonica) "atque iisdem literarum formulis excudi curavimus, et quo facilius ejus cognitionem intelligentiamque comprehenderes, Anglica cum Saxonis in margine conjunximus, tabulisque notis atque figurarum signis *distinximus*, ut perfacile inter se diversarum linguarum sententiæ comparari queant." He mentions DAVE also as the *first* printer, and, as far as he knew, the *only* one, who engraved the Saxon characters, "æri inciderit;" therefore we may safely conclude, that the work ascribed to Foxe was in reality published under the direction of the Archbishop, and that it is the earliest specimen of Saxon typography in England! Affer's Annals of the Life of Alfred, though written in Latin, were published by the learned Archbishop about the same time in the same Saxon characters in which he found the Manuscript written. It is remarkable, that the oldest books in the *Irish* language are found printed with *Saxon* types*, and the *Saxon* characters are also seen in *Welsh* MSS.

* The Most Reverend editor of the Irish Prayer-book of 1608 asserts, in the Dedication of that work to Sir Arthur Chichester, Knt. *that the Saxons borrowed their letters from Ireland*; if so, it must have been long before the period he assigns, which is towards the latter end of the eleventh century! The derivation of *Scotia*, the ancient name of Ireland as well as of Scotland, from the Greek *σκοτία*, *darkness*, gives us no very favourable idea of the Archbishop's accuracy of investigation, or of the *enlightened* state of his countrymen in former times. There is however a striking resemblance between the Saxon and the Irish characters in most of the coetaneous manuscripts; and in all printed books nearly the same types were formerly

The Saxon Gospels were afterwards published by Junius in conjunction with Dr. Marshall, together with the Mæso-Gothic fragments ascribed to Bishop Ulphilas^b. For this purpose Junius collated four MSS. the Bodleian, the Cantabrigian, the Benedictine, and the Hattonian; not to mention two interlinear versions, which he calls, from the then possessors, the Cottonian and Rushworthian glosses. The former of these interlinear glosses, or Saxon versions, is the more curious and valuable, because its age and author, I think, may be precisely ascertained. It is written in a smaller character, *over* and *between* the lines of a most beautiful and very ancient Latin version, called the Durham book, for a more particular account of which I refer the reader to Wanley's Catalogue, and to the excellent Observations of Dr. Marshall, annexed to the Gothic and Saxon Gospels published by him and Junius, pp. 491, 492. It is now in the British Museum, (B. 2. Nero. D. 4.) Mr. Henshall has lately undertaken a new publication of the Dano-Saxon gloss of this book, together with the fragments of the Ulphilo-Gothic version, in order to illustrate the striking resemblance between those ancient languages and our present English. He seems however to suppose, that the Saxon version is coeval with the Latin; whereas it appears to me to have been written about 360 years after. However this may be, it ought certainly to be called Aldred's gloss, as Dr. Marshall has suggested, because it was written by a priest of that name; as appears from the following memorandum at the end of the MS. "Aldred, presbyter indignus et miserrimus, miþ Godes fultume and sancti Cuthbertes, hit ofergloefade on Englisc;" that is, "Aldred, an unworthy and miserable priest, with the help of God and St. Cuthbert, *overglossed* it in English." The question is, who is this Aldred? this *miserable priest*, as he humbly calls himself? I find an Aldred, or Ealdred, mentioned in the Saxon Chro-

formerly used in both languages, as I have observed above; an additional argument, perhaps, for the study of Saxon literature. See the Irish Prayer-book, translated by William Archbishop of Tuam from the Liturgy of the Church of England, "for the comfort of the meere Irish Churches," &c. printed by Shéon spancke (alias) spanckton, Ppiontóip an Ríog an Eipín, (i. e. *Printer to the King in Ireland*), 1608. See also the Cod. Boerner. et Montf. Pal. Gr. p. 237, with all the MSS. *ubi ubi fnt*, written by Sedulius Scotus.

^b Dordrecht, typis et sumptibus Junianis, 4to. 1665.

nicle, who, on the death of Archbishop Kinfey, having gone through some previous degrees of preferment, was promoted to the see of York in the year 1065^c. I take him to be the same Aldred, Ealdred, or Ældred, who is mentioned also in the Saxon Chronicle (anno 1047.) as one of the English bishops who went to Rome, to attend a synod or council there in that year^d. And, as the language of the gloss itself is Dano-Saxon, it appears almost certain, that it was written not long before this time, and probably by this same Aldred, who seems to have been shortly after rewarded for his piety, learning, and humility, by being chosen a Bishop, and afterwards Archbishop of York. If this account of the age of this Saxon manuscript can be relied on as accurate, it will be considered, I trust, as a curious and valuable specimen of the language spoken in the North of England about the middle of the eleventh century^e.

^c Chron. Saxon. ad annum, ed. Gibson. p. 170.

^d He was then Bishop of Worcester, having been promoted to that see the year before.

^e Of the age both of the Latin text and of the Dano-Saxon gloss the following is the opinion of the industrious Wanley: "Mille annorum vetustas hujus codicis Latino textui adjungenda est. *De Aldredi ætate nihil certi habeo quod dicam.* Ex dialecto autem Glossæ, et manu in qua scripta est, illum circa tempora Ælfredi regis, octingentis abhinc annis, floruisse existimo." Cat. p. 252. Wanley's Catalogue was printed in 1705.

APPENDIX IV.

"Operæ pretium erit patrium hunc nostrum (quo hodie utimur) sermonem cum illo obsoleto jam pene et extincto conferre, et conferendo, quam sint inter se similes et pene eadem, animadvertere." *Preface to Asser's Life of Alfred, edit. Parker. Lond. 1574.*

Page 30.

Pater Noster on Englisc.

"Ðu ure fæder þe eart on heofenum. beo þin nama gehalga'd. gecumē þin rice. beo þin willa swa swa on heofenum swa ece on eorþan. fyle us to dæg urne dægw^hamlican hlaf. And forgif us ure gyltas swa swa we forgifap þam þe wiþ us agyltap. And ne læd þu na us on costnunge, ac alys us from yfele. Sy hit swa."

Pater Noster in English; (according to the modern orthography.)

"Thou our father that art in heaven. Be thy name hallowed. Come thy kingdom. Be thy will so as in heaven so eke on earth. Sell us to-day our daily loaf. And forgive us our guilts so as we forgive them that with us are guilty. And lead thou not us into cozening^b, but release us from evil. Be it so."

^a I have purposely printed the few specimens here given of the Saxon language with common types, because there is only one Saxon character, þ, which is not represented equally well by the Roman. This is therefore retained; and perhaps, if the Saxon þ, or ð, like the Greek θ, or ϑ, was necessary in former times, it is equally so now. In fact, it was generally used in English MSS. till the invention of printing, and for some time after.

^b This word is now used in a stronger sense than it was among the Saxons; it is from the verb *coþenian*, or *coþian*, tentare; connected with *accofter*, to *acost*, *costa*, *coste*, &c.

Se

Se læsse Credo.

“ Ic gelyfe on God fæder ælmihtigne. scyppend heofonan and eorþan.
 “ And ic gelyfe on hælend Crist his ancennedan sunu urne drihten. se
 “ wæs ge-eacnod of þam halgan gaste. and acenned of Marian þam mæ-
 “ dene. geprowod under þam Pontiscan Pilate. on rode ahangen. He wæs
 “ dead and bebyrged. and he nyther astah to helle. and he aras of
 “ deape on þam þridan dæge. and he astah up to heofenum. and sitteþ
 “ nu æt swiþran Godes ælmihtiges fæder. þanon he wyle cuman to dem-
 “ enne ægþer ge þam cūcum ge þam deadum. And ic gelyfe on þone
 “ halgan gast. and þa halgan gelapunge. and halgena gemænnyffe. and
 “ synna forgifenyffe. and slæscas arift. and þat ece life. Sy hit swa.”

Mæsse Credo.

“ Ic gelyfe on ænne God fæder ælmihtigne. wyrscend heofenan and eor-
 “ þan. and ealra gesewenlicra þinga and ungesewenlicra. and on ænne Crist
 “ hælend drihten. þone ancennedan Godes sunu. Of þam fæder acenned
 “ ær ealle worulda. God of God. leoht of leoht. Soþne Gode of soþum
 “ Gode. Acennedne. na geworhtne. efentowistlice þam fæder. þurh þone
 “ synd ealle þing geworhte. se for us mannum and for ure hæle neþer
 “ astah of heofenum. and wearþ geflæsc-hamod of þam halgan gaste.
 “ and of Marian þam mædene. and wearþ mann geworden. He þrowade
 “ eac swylce. on rode ahangen for us. and he was bebyrged. and he
 “ aras on þam þridan dæge. swa swa gewritu secgaþ. and he astah to
 “ heofenum. and he sitt æt swiþran his fæder. and he eft cymþ mid
 “ wuldre to demenne þam cuicum and þam deadum. And his rices ne biþ
 “ nan ende. And ic gelyfe on þone halgan gast þone liffæstendan God.
 “ se gæth of þam fæder and of þam suna. and se is mid þam fæder and
 “ mid þam suna gebeden and gewuldro'd. and se spræc þurh witegan. Ic
 “ andette þa anan halgan and þa geleaffullan and þa Apostolican gelapunge.
 “ And an fulluht on forgifnyffe synna. And ic andbidige æristes deaðdra
 “ manna. And thæs ecan lifes thære toweardan worulde. Sy hit swa.”

From the above specimens of the Saxon language, compared with our
 present English, I think it may fairly be concluded, that it is from this an-
 cient

cient and primeval source we must principally trace the character, the idiom, and the origin, of our native tongue; and, notwithstanding the unworthy complaints that we hear of the instability and fluctuation thereof, perhaps there are few languages that have stood the test of so many eventful centuries, and so many political revolutions, and yet have retained so much of their original strength and splendour. In order to prove how much even Milton himself is indebted for the majestic simplicity of his verse to the Saxon materials therein, I have ventured to give a translation of the first sixteen lines of the *Paradise Lost* into that language; a kind of exercise, which, together with that of modernizing ancient documents, might be recommended to all Saxon students as both amusing and instructive.

The few words which it was necessary to substitute in the room of those of Latin etymology are marked with inverted commas.

Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I.

Of mannes fyrst "unhyrsumnesse^c," and þæs

"Wæstmes^d" of þat forbiðdene treowe, hwa's tæst^e

^c The word unhyrsumnesse affords a convenient specimen of the general etymology of the Saxon language. From the verb hypan, *to bear*, is derived the adjective hyrsum, *inclined to bear*, i. e. *obedient*; *dicto audiens, obaudiens, or obediens*, Lat. *nesse* is a common addition to express a quality, or the indication of some quality, as hyrsumnesse, *obedience*; to which the guttural particle ge may be added *ad libitum*, which will form ge-hyrsumnesse: if we then prefix the negative particle un, derived from the participle ge-pon, *wanted*, we shall see the whole structure of the Saxon word, ungehyrsumnesse. And it is remarkable, that the same process has been observed in the formation of the word *dis-ob-ed-i-ence*: the radical of which is *aud-io*, from the Greek, *αὐδῶ, ὠρῶς*, the *ear*. In some of the best MSS. and printed editions of Sallust we have the word *obaudientia*, not *obedientia*. Bell. Catilinar. sub init.

^d *Fruit* being derived from *fruit*, Fr. *fructus*, Lat. it is necessary here to use the Saxon word *wæstmes*, which signifies the same. And, for the same reason, *un-bear-som-ness* for *disobedience*.

^e The word *mortal* is omitted in this line; indeed, "*mortal taste*—Brought *death* into the "world," &c. is a tautology unworthy of Milton, though it seems to have been overlooked by all his commentators and editors. *Tæst* is a noun formed from the past participle of the verb *tæsan, vellicare, to pluck*, whence, in another sense, the modern verb *to tease*. This, it is hoped, is sufficient authority. I believe the word *tæst*, in our present acceptance of it, which Dr.

Johnson

Broht deap in to þe world, and call ure wa,
 Wip løfe of Eden, til an greater man
 An-steor us, and an-g'ahne þe blisful sæt,
 Sing, heofenlic Muse, þe on þam "diglod" top
 Of Oreb, oþþe of Sinai, "onbeblew'ft"
 Done sceaphyrd, hwa fyrst tæ'hte the ceosen sæd,
 On þe beginning hu þe heofen and eorþ
 Ras ut of Chaos; oþþe, gif Sion hill
 De "lyftath" mare, and Siloa's broc þat flow'd
 Faste bi þe "stefne" of God; þanon ic nu
 Call on þine aide to min "gedyrftig" song;
 Dat wip na middel fliht "upgangan" wolde
 Begeond þe' Aonisc munt, hwile hit "ehte" thingⁿ
 Unwritten get on "forth-rihte" oþþe on rime!

Johnson and others derive from *tester*, to try, (Qu. *testari*?) does not exist in any document written in the Saxon language that is now extant, being the same with *test*, an *experiment*, &c.

¹ *Steven*, for *voice*, or *oracle*, was retained from the Saxon word as lately as the time of Chaucer, and afterwards. It is found in Hampole's "Stimulus Conscientiæ," an English Poem written in the thirteenth century; two MSS. of which are in the archives of Trinity College, Oxford. See Chaucer, *passim*, Johan Capellan, and others.

² The final *g* here, as the *g* shows in *heofenlic*, was latterly almost *quiescent*, and the whole word was pronounced by the Normans, *ylupstige*; *I, durst* is a phrase well understood in the present day. The initial *z*, before *e*, &c. was also frequently pronounced as *y* in *yet*, *ye*, &c.

³ *Thing* was sometimes used by our Saxon ancestors both in the singular and plural number, as the vulgar now say, *two mile*, *two pound*, &c. instead of *two miles*, *two pounds*, &c.

⁴ *Forþ-riht* is used by Ælfric, the compiler of the Latino-Saxon Grammar in the eleventh century, to signify *prose*, as opposed to *verse*, or *metre*. The word is very expressive, particularly with reference to the other term *rime*; and I hope here to be indulged in a little verbal criticism, because I find the latter word has been much misunderstood. *Forþ-riht* denotes a composition which flows *right onward*, or *forþward*, without breaks or interruptions, from one line to another; and therefore properly signifies *prose*. *Rime*, which has been erroneously supposed by some to be derived from the Greek *ῥυμος*, and therefore corrupted by degrees, first into *rhime*, and then into *rhyme*, has been as erroneously restricted by others to signify those *anacrostichs*, or *homoioteletic* lines in modern poetry, to the jingle of which the ancient poets were strangers. The word *Rim*, in most of the Northern languages, implies, in its first sense, any limit, end, or extremity whatever, as the *rim* of a glass, the

rime,

rime, or light hoar frost, which so beautifully *tips* the *extremities* of the trees, bushes, and hedges, in the winter. It sometimes signifies the *completion* of *numbers*, and *rincraft* is *arithmetic*, or the science of numbers. Applied to written compositions, it is a certain number or measure of metrical feet, limited by the rules of *poetry*, and therefore properly opposed to *forth-right*, or *prose*. Now it is obvious, that this definition of the word is not only consistent with its etymology, but also applicable universally to all poetry, both ancient and modern; which Milton of course intended it should be, when he declared his lofty purpose of pursuing

“ Things unattempted yet in prose or rime.”

If the reader will turn to the *variorum* notes on this passage in Todd's edition of Milton, I trust he will not deem this long note unnecessary. That Mr. Todd should have invariably printed *rhyme* instead of *rime*, contrary to the text of all the best editions, is altogether inexcusable. *Rim*, Teut. Germ. Belg. Sax. Dan. Swed. Island. &c. *rima*, Ital. *rime*, Fr. &c. &c.

WHILE the compositor was setting his types for this sheet, it occurred to me, that, as he wanted materials to complete it, I could not more usefully fill a few vacant pages, than by adding the Saxon, Gothic, Runic, and Islandic alphabets, for the use of such as may be desirous of cultivating this kind of literature; in which I have introduced as many different characters as I could represent by our present apparatus of Northern typography. Those however who are so fortunate as to possess a copy of the magnificent Thesaurus of Dr. Hickes, or who can have access to it in libraries, may collect from the various plates in that work a complete *Palæographia Septentrionalis*, forming a valuable counterpart to the elaborate *Palæographia Græca* of Montfaucon.

It is very much to be lamented, that the plates, on which fac-similes of Manuscripts and other such curiosities are engraved, are not more frequently preserved, to be used again on any future occasion. The utility, and even necessity, of having recourse to various forms of letters, in order to read Manuscripts with facility, to decypher coins and monumental inscriptions, and sometimes to restore the genuine text of an author in a corrupted passage,

passage, must be seen and acknowledged by all. In order therefore to contribute some little assistance in this way, and for the sake of those who may be desirous of making any great progress in Northern literature, I have enquired into the state of the Junian types, among which I expected to find the greatest variety of Septentrional characters. They are still preserved, though in imperfect sets, in the Clarendon Printing-house; but alas! as Junius, who left them to the University, has been dead nearly 130 years, and as no considerable work that required them has been printed there for more than a century, they are, unfortunately, in such a state as we might *expect*; indeed, but by no means in such a state as we should *desire*; not worn out by use, but rendered almost useless by *desœuvrement*! There are, however, perfect sets of the common Saxon characters, the same which were used more than a century ago in printing the valuable works of Hickes, Wanley, Thwaites, Gibson, Chr. Rawlinson, and other Saxon scholars of that period. These are in a tolerable state of preservation, though many of the letters are very much worn. The misfortune is, that these types are cast of a different height from those now in use; so that they cannot be worked together in the same page. But, if any encouragement were given to this kind of literature, a new plan might be adopted, of printing all the most important remains of the Saxon language with the common Roman types, reserving the þ only, as at least an useful and elegant abbreviation, being more pleasing to the eye than th; as may be seen by the word *þopp*, compared with *othpe*, &c. Some may even think it a necessary character, to make a distinction between the sound of th when united, and that of the same letters when they belong to two separate syllables. Many learned men regret the loss of this character, which we seem to have ignorantly abolished out of compliment to our neighbours. They indeed relinquished it long ago, because they had long lost the sound of it; for it is a remarkable fact, that there are only two nations in Europe who have preserved the original pronunciation of this letter; namely, the ENGLISH and the ISLANDIC.

THE

THE SAXON ALPHABET.

ROM. SAXON.

A	A	T	a
B	B	β	b
C	L	Γ	c
D	D	δ	d
E	E	Ε	e
F	F	Ϝ	f
G	G	Γ	g
H	H	h	h
I	I	Ι	i
K	K	Κ	k
L	L	Λ	l
M	M	μ	m
N	N	ν	n
O	O	ο	o
P	P	ϙ	p
Q	Q	ϙ	q
R	R	ρ	r
S	S	ς	s
T	T	τ	t
V	U	Υ	u
VV	W	ϙ	w
X	X	χ	x
Y	Y	ϙ	y
Z	Z	ς	z

D, 8, p, 14, 9, 1.

A kind of Italic *a* is much used in MSS. The diphthong *œ*, *æ*, or *ea*, occurs continually, where we now use the single *a*, or *e*. The first is most frequent in the Dano-Saxon.

A character is found in coins and MSS. which resembles the *ε* or *β* of the Greek alphabet. *Ε*, which differs from the *Ε* of the Greeks only by the addition of the horizontal line below, and is often found in coins without it, may be considered as older than the circular form of the Roman letter *C*. It is the Hebrew *צ* or *ץ* turned from the left to the right. *Ε* and *G* are evidently variations of *E* and *C*. *CAIUS* was pronounced *GAUS* in the time of Quinctilius.

From the *two* sides of a triangle *γ*, the Hebrew *Daleth*, the Greeks formed their *Δ* by adding the *third*; the Romans converted one of the angles into a semicircle, *Đ*, which being turned the contrary way becomes *d*, the *Δ* of the Moso-Gothic alphabet. See the Runic alphabet.

The Saxons dotted the *ý* instead of the *i*, being at first perhaps written *ü*, the *ü* twice dotted of the Germans, and the *ï* of the Ulphilo-Gothic alphabet, which corresponds with the *ī* in the Alexandrian, Beza, and other old MSS. of the New Testament; as *ἰΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ*. *ἰΔΟΝΤΕΣ*. *ἸΡΑΝ*.

The Irish dotted the Saxon *ȝ* instead of the *ý*.

Whether the old Saxons had the letter *K*, and discarded it, like the Romans, I know not; *C* was generally used till the Danes and Normans introduced *K*; probably from the Runic *P*. It is used at present, as formerly, in order to prevent the soft sound of *C*. See the Runic alphabet.

The Roman *M* is generally found both in Anglo-Saxon and Dano-Saxon coins; being more easily shaped by the *monetarii*. All letters may be ob-

served to assume an angular form in coins, types, monumental inscriptions, &c. whereas in writing they naturally run into circles, semicircles, and flourishes. M seems to correspond with the Hebrew ם, having an additional stroke to the left, to distinguish it from n, with which, nevertheless, it has been often confounded. See the Islandic alphabet, &c. &c.

N seems to be derived from the Runic K, or N, by adding a perpendicular. See Professor Worm's *Literatura Runica*, p. 115. Hafn. 1651.

O appears in various forms on coins; sometimes it assumes the figure of a cross with a circle described in the centre; sometimes it represents a square instead of a circle, &c. &c. Vid. Hickes. *Differt. Epist.* p. 168.

The Saxons, like the latter Romans, expressed the p of the Hebrews, the Ϝ or Koppa of the Cadmean Greeks, the u of the Goths, &c. by two or three characters instead of one; cp, cw, quu, or cu. If this be a defect, it was so also in the refined orthography of the Greeks and Romans; *απορ*, *quartus*, &c. Q indeed very seldom occurs in Saxon MSS.

Y, or V, is nothing more nor less than y *Greeque*, as the French call it, the Greek Ϛ, or v, the Latin v, &c. and so used in coins and MSS. Modern Grammarians have raised it to the rank of a *consonant*!

W, or P, differs only in form from the Æolic digamma, F, or p, by closing the two horizontal lines which proceed from the perpendicular. In the middle or the end of a word or a syllable it retains its original sound of w, vv, vv, oo, of the w and u of the Welsh. It is sometimes confounded

These characters stood for the number 90 in all those languages, if we except the Hebrew; for by some means or other the y, the letter preceding p in the alphabet of that language, appears to have usurped its place, if we may judge from the arrangement that is made of the letters in Psal. cxix. and in other places; as in Prov. xxi. 10. &c. and six times in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The Greek Ϝ, or Koppa, for 90, is still to be seen in most MSS. and printed editions of Thucydides, and other Greek authors, whose works are divided into chapters. Vide *Quintil. Gefner*. l. 4. 9. ed. Oxon. Montfaucon; *Palæogr. Gr.* p. 569. Aristoph. *Nub.* v. 23; cum nott. edd. in *voc. Koppa*. I suspect that the *Samech* of the Hebrew alphabet (ס) was introduced, at a time comparatively modern, by those who could not pronounce the *Schin*, (ש), as in the famous word *Sibboleth*, which the Ephraimites softened into *Sibboleth*, to the great contempt of those who retained the original pronunciation. The Germans have preserved the proper *pronunciation* of this character, but they are obliged to use three characters (sch) in the *symbolization* of it.

with

with Poin coins and MSS. Hence Sir H. Saville read Edpard for Edward, &c. In the beginning of a word or syllable it is the Roman V.

Z of course is a variation of S, Σ; Z, ζ, ζ; to express a distinction of sound. The Romans generally used ff or x, as in *caussa*, *nassa*; μαζα, Gr. Besides the foregoing characters, t, r, ff, ft, r for p, &c. &c. are frequently found in Saxon MSS. ss; for ff, we seem to have borrowed from the French, our guides in typography as in every thing else, making no distinction between the small letter and the capital; but the similarity of f and s certainly occasions many mistakes in printing. þ, *thæt*, or *that*, ʒ, *at*, or *and*, t, *vel*, &c. or, &c. are common abbreviations in MSS. and printed books.

The *Thorn* of the Saxon alphabet, Ð, ȥ, or þ, corresponding with the Greek Θ, θ, and the Runic ʀ, which has been called *Thorn*, from the stroke which pierces the body of the perpendicular line in the first, is unfortunately become obsolete. The Gothic ƿ, to express hw, or the quhw of the Scoto-Saxon, was equally worthy of being preserved, and, as it is a handsome letter, may yet be revived. I have therefore procured some types to represent this and some other long-forgotten characters, the sounds of which they are the symbols being but imperfectly represented by our present system of typography; much less can we print correct editions of Chaucer, Gawin Douglas, &c. without them. The use of ȥ and þ is particularly necessary, and might be of great service even now, not only to enable us to distinguish the different sounds of *th* in such words as *thy* and *thigh*, *this* and *thisle*, *that* and *thatch*, &c. &c. but also to lead all future grammarians into a rational system of orthography and orthoepey. At the same time I beg leave to observe; that I do not wish to introduce any unnecessary innovations, where custom has so long prevailed. Some may even think, that every alphabet might be reduced to about nine simple consonants, and one vowel; all the rest being nice distinctions, elegant abbreviations, artificial combinations, &c. &c. invented by Pythagoras and others, in times comparatively modern, and continued since under different forms, *pro vario genio ac libitu scriptorum*. But we know what uncertainty has arisen in the Hebrew and Runic languages, from the adoption of minute points to supply the deficiency of letters. See the Runic alphabet in the next page.

1. The

1. The Mæso-Gothic Alphabet of Ulphilas.

1. A a a.	8. h b f.	60. G g y 5.	400. O g b w h p.
2. B b β.	9. ψ t h o p.	70. N n u v.	500. F f p b q.
3. Γ g γ.	10. I i i i.	80. Π p π.	600. X c b x.
4. Δ d δ.	20. K e k x x.	90. υ q ζ.	700. V u n u q.
5. E e e e.	30. Λ l λ.	100. R r ρ.	800. Z z z.
6. Q u u i VI.	40. M m μ.	200. S s σ c.	900. H e e n.
7. Z z ζ.	50. N n n.	300. T t τ.	1000. ψ n s n n a.

2. The Scytho-Gothic, Runic, Cimbric, or Scandic alphabet.

F F V. Fic, or feoh, <i>fee</i> .	T 4 T. Tyr. <i>taur-us</i> , Mars, &c.
U U. Ur, <i>ferri</i> scintilla, vel <i>pluvia</i> .	B B. Biarkan, or birk, betula, <i>birch</i> .
D D. Dufs; <i>don</i> , <i>deus</i> .	L L. Lagur, <i>liquor</i> .
O O. Oys, <i>ostium</i> fluminis.	M M. Madur, <i>man</i> .
R R. Ridhr, or rad, <i>rider</i> .	V V W. <i>Stungen</i> sic, or wen.
K K. Kaun, or ken, <i>ulcus</i> .	Y Y. <i>Stungen</i> ur.
H H. Hægl, <i>hail</i> .	Th. <i>Stungen</i> dufs, or thorn. <i>p</i> .
N N. Nadur, or nyd, <i>need</i> .	C C. <i>Kne-sol</i> .
J J. Jis, ire, Sax. <i>malè</i> bod, <i>ice</i> .	G G. <i>Stungen</i> kaun.
A A. Aar, <i>anni</i> proventus.	E E. <i>Stungen</i> jis.
S S. Sigel, or sol, <i>sail</i> , or <i>sun</i> .	P P. <i>Stungen</i> birk, or biarkan.

In this alphabet I have followed the order of the Runic characters, as they are placed for golden numbers and dominical letters in the old calendars. In the modern series they stand thus, in compliance with modern alphabets:

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T
U V W X Y Z

3. The Islandic alphabet; the same with the Franco-Teutonic, modern German, Danish, Swedish, English Black letter, &c. &c.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

The Lord's Prayer in this ancient language.

Fader vor þu som ert a Himnum/ Helgest þitt Nafn/ Títtome þitt Ríffe/
Verbe þítt villie/ so a Jorda/ sem a Himne/ Gíeff þu of i dag wort daglege
Bræd/ Og siergíeff of vorar Skullder/ sosem vier siergíeffum nonum Skuldmau-
rum/ Og inleid of ecke i freistne/ Hældr frelsa þu of fra illu/ Þujad þitt er
Ríffed/ og Maatr/ og Dyrð/ in allder allða/ Amen.

In

In the Gothic alphabet it will be seen, that I have changed the common order of the letters, and introduced two new characters! The former of these innovations, however, is supported by authority which cannot be resisted; for I have merely followed the order in which I find the letters placed in the margin of the Mæso-Gothic Gospels. As they stand there for *numbers*, as regularly as the Hebrew letters in many parts of the Old Testament, it occurred to me, that since Junius and others hastily adopted the A, B, C, of the modern languages, and printed their alphabets according to their own fancy, it was necessary to have recourse to some higher authority. On comparing my alphabet afterwards with the Greek and the Hebrew, I was agreeably surprized to find, that they almost entirely coincided. For the other innovation, the introduction of two new characters into the alphabet, or rather, perhaps, the revival of the old, I refer the reader to the same authority, and to a MS. treatise *On the Letters and Language of the Goths*, mentioned by Professor Thwaites in the notes to his Mæso-Gothic alphabet. See also the four alphabets of J. Hepburn, i. e. the Gothic, the Getic, the Scythian, and the Massagetic, engraved in Hickes's *Thesaurus*, Gram. Island. p. 4. The Runic alphabet has been restored on the same plan.

As a mere experiment, I have ventured to enlarge my original design, by publishing an extract from King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, in which I have retained the þ only of the Saxon alphabet, for the reasons before mentioned. Whether antiquaries in general will approve or condemn the innovation, I know not; but I have the satisfaction of assuring them and the public, that I had an opportunity of shewing the first sheet to a Gentleman of the highest authority and experience as an antiquary, when he was lately at Oxford, and that he was kindly pleased to give me his unqualified approbation of the whole plan; and with a liberal and patriotic zeal for the advancement of Saxon learning, and the knowledge of our English antiquities, he also signified at the same time his noble intention of sending to the University all his valuable printed books and manuscripts relating to those subjects!

En-

Encouraged and animated by so generous a donation, though my labours may fail of success, or may be executed in a manner unworthy of public patronage, I feel it to be my duty to contribute some little assistance to the cultivation of this too much neglected branch of English literature.

I have begun therefore with a very easy and pure specimen of the Saxon language, which claims the immortal Alfred for its author ! It describes the *land-marks*, or boundaries, of all Europe, as they were known in the *ninth century* ; and it is a very valuable and necessary document to illustrate the geography of the middle ages. That part of it which contains an authentic history of THREE VOYAGES MADE IN THE NORTH SEAS IN THE NINTH CENTURY, one of which is a professed voyage of DISCOVERY, was inserted by King Alfred himself into his version of Orosius, and it is generally believed to be the original composition of that truly great man. The *unbelieving* reader, however, may consult the Preface of the Hon. Mr. DAINES BARRINGTON, brother to the present Bishop of Durham, in his edition of this work, if he happens to have a copy of it. It was from this publication of Mr. Barrington, now become very scarce, of which I have a presentation copy, with a MS. letter of the editor, through the friendship of Mr. Price, the Bodleian Librarian, that I first intended to reprint this valuable extract ; and I concluded, from Mr. Barrington's general knowledge as an antiquary, and from his acquaintance with the Saxon language in particular, that I should have very little more to do than to deliver the copy to the compositor, *judante prelo* ; but, on examination, I found the text of his book so inaccurately printed, and the translation in many parts so completely unintelligible, that I determined to collate the whole with the Junian transcript from the Cotton library, (Tib. B. 1.) and other MSS. and printed books in the Bodleian. I have also revised the translation throughout, and only followed him in those places where I saw no reason to depart from him. I have preserved some of his notes, as well as the geographical illustrations of Mr. J. Reinhold Forster, who, having sailed round the world, and being particularly famous for his knowledge of the North of Europe, both by land and sea, must be considered as a valuable commentator on the geography of Alfred and Orosius.

THE

THE
GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE;
EXTRACTED
FROM KING ALFRED'S
ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

SECTION 100-100-100

... ..

... ..

THE
GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

BY
KING ALFRED, &c.

NU wille we ymb Europe land-gemære reccan. swa mycel swa we hit fyrmeft witon:. Fram þære éa Danais west of Rin þa éa. (seo wylþ of þæm beorge þe man Alpis hæet. and yrnþ þonne norþrihte on þæs garfecges earm þe þæt land utan ymbliþ þe man Bryttannia hæet.) and eft suþ of Donua^a þa éa. (þære æwylme^b is neah þære éa Rines. and is siþþan east yrnende wiþ Norþan Creca-lande ut on þone Wendel sæ.) and norþ on þone garfege þe man Cwen sæ hæet. binnan þæm fyndon manega þeoda. ac hit man hæet eall Germania:. Donne wiþ norþan Donua æwylme and be eastan Rine fyndon Eastfrancan. and be suþan him fyndon Swæfas. on oþre healfre þære éa Donua. and be suþan him and be eastan fyndon Bægþ-ware. se dæl þe man Regnes-burh hæet. and rihte be eastan him fyndon Beme. and east norþ fyndon Dyringas. and be norþan him fyndon eald Seaxan. and be norþan-westan him fyndon Fryfan. and be westan eald Seaxum is Ælfe muþa þære éa and Fryslanð. and þanon west norþ is þæt land þe man Angle hæet. and Sillende. and sumne dæl Dena. and be norþan him is Apdrede. and east norþ wylte þe man Hæfeldan^c hæet. and be eastan him is Wineda land. þe man hæet Syfyle. and east suþ ofer sumne dæl Maroaro. and hi Maroaro habbaþ be westan him Dyringas and Behemas and Bægþware healfre. and

^a *Donau* is preferred by Milton to the latinized term *Danube*. J. I.

^b Hence the name of Ewelme in Oxfordshire. J. I.

^c I have adopted the aspirate H here from a various reading. J. I.

be suþan him on oþre healfre Donua þære éa is þæt land Carendre. suþ oþ þa beorgas þe man Alpis hæet. to þæm ilcan beorgum licgaþ Bæghwara land-gemære and Swæfa. Donne be eastan Carendran lande begeondan þæm westenne is Pulgara land. and be eastan þæm is Creca land. and be eastan Meroaro lande is Willeland. and be eastan þæm find Datia^d. þa þe iu wæron Gottan. Be norþan eastan Maroara syndon Dalamensan. and be eastan Dalamensan findon Horithi. and be norþan Dalamensan findon Surpè. and be westan him findon Sylèlè. Be norþan Horiti is Mægþaland. and be norþan Mægþaland is Sermendè oþ þa beorgas Riffin. and be westan suþ Denum is þæs garfecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brittannia. and be norþan him is þæs sæs earm þe man hæet Ost sæ. and be eastan him and be norþan him syndon norþ Denè. ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum. and be eastan him syndon Afdredè. and be suþan him is Ælfe muba þære éa. and eald Seaxna sum dæl. Norþ Denè habbaþ him be norþan þone ilcan sæs earm þe man Ost sæ hæet. and be eastan him syndon Osti þa leode. and Afdredè be suþan. Osti habbaþ be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm. and Winedas and Burgendas. and be suþan him syndon Hæfeldan. Burgendan habbaþ þone ylcan sæs earm be westan him. and Sweon be norþan. and be eastan him find Sermendè. and be suþan him Surfè. Sweon habbaþ be suþan him þone sæs earm Osti. and be eastan him Sermendè. and be norþan ofer þa westennu is Cwen land. and be westan norþan him findon Scride-Finnas. and be westan Norþmenn.

“Oht-here sæde his hlaforde Ælfrede kyninige þæt he ealra Norþmanna
 “norþmest bude. He cwæþ þæt he bude on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ
 “þa west sæ. he sæde þeah þæt þæt land sy swyþe lang norþ þanon. ac hit is
 “eall weste buton on feawum stowum. sticce mælum wiciaþ Finnas. on
 “huntaþe on wintra. and on sumera on fiscoþe be þære sæ. He sæde þæt
 “he æt sumum cyrre wolde fandian hu lange þæt land norþ-riht læge. oþþe
 “hwæther ænig man be norþan þæm westene bude. Ða for he norþrihte

^d Qu. *Dacæ*? c is often confounded with t in Saxon MSS. not to mention that *Dacia* and *Datia* are generally pronounced alike. *Dacæ* being once written *Dacè*, then *Dacia*, the transition to *Datia* appears natural and obvious. But perhaps the country is put inadvertently for the inhabitants. The words of Orosius are: “*Dacia, ubi et Gothia.*” *J. I.*

“be

" be þær lande. let him ealne weg þæt weste land on þæt steorbord and
 " þa wid sæ on bæc-bord þry dagas. þa was he swa feor norþ swa swa hwæl
 " huntan fyrrest farap. þa for he þa gyt norþ-ryhte swa he mihte on þæt
 " oþrum þrim dagum gefeglian. þa beah^e þæt land þær east-ryhte oþþe sio
 " sæ in on þæt land. he nyste hwæper. buton he wiste þæt he þær bad
 " westan windes. oþþe hwone norþan. and seglede þanon east be land swa
 " swa he mihte on feower dagum gefeglian. þa soelde he bidan ryhte
 " norþan windes. forþan þæt land þær beah suprihte oþþe sio sæ in on þæt
 " land he nyste hwæper. þa seglede he þanon suprihte be lande swa swa he
 " mihte on fif dagum gefeglian. Da læg þær an mycel ea up in þæt land.
 " þa cyrdon hy up in on þa ea. for þæm hy ne dorston forþ be þære ea seg-
 " lian for ænriþe. for þæm þæt land was eall gebún^f on oþre healfre þære
 " ea. ne mette he ær nan gebún land syððan he fram hys agnum hamē
 " for. ac him was ealne weg weste land on þæt steorbord butan fisceran
 " and fugeleran and huntan. and þæt wæron ealle Finnas. and him was a'
 " wid sæ on þæt bæc-bord. Da Beormas hæfdon swiþe well gebún hyra
 " land. ac hi ne dorston þær on cuman. ac þæra Tersenna land was eall
 " weste. butan þær huntan gewicodon. oþþe fisceras. oþþe fugeleras.

" Fela spella him sædon þa Beormas. ægþer ge of hyra agenum lande
 " ge of þæm lande þe ymb hy utan wæran. ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes was.
 " for þæm he hyt sylf ne ge-seah. Da Finnas (him þuhte) and þa Beormas
 " spræcon neah an geþeode. Swiþost he for þyder to eacan þæs landes
 " sceawunge. for þæm hors-hwælum. for þæm hi habbaþ swiþe æþele ban on
 " hyra toþum. þa teþ hy broton fume þæm cyninge. and hyra hyd biþ
 " swiþe god to scirapum. Se hwæl biþ micle læssa þonne oþre hwalas.

^e This word is not translated well by Mr. Barrington, "the land lay," &c; it is the preterit from the verb *bugan*, or *bygan*, to *bow*, or *bend*; and well expresses the bend or turn of the land to the east at the North Cape. It occurs again a few times below. *J. I.*

^f Mr. Barrington improperly prints *gebon* here, and *gebunb* in the next line. I find *gebún* in the Junian transcript with a dash over the *ú* in both places, perhaps as a mark of contraction for *gebugen*, as we find *tá'en* used by our poets for *taken*. So below, *á* is used like the Scottish abbreviation *ia a'*, *ca' fa'*, *ha'*, *wa'*, &c. for *all*, *call*, *fall*, *ball*, *ruall*, &c. *a'* signifies *all*, *always*, *at all times*, &c. translated simply, *a wide sea*, by Mr. Barrington! *J. I.*

^g "Hic incipit lacuna in Cod. MS. Landerdal. qua laborat usque ad cap. ix. lib. i. p. 20." Marginal note by Dr. Marshall in the Junian transcript of Alfred's Orosius, p. 20. *J. I.*

" ne

“ ne biþ he lengra þonne fyfan elna lange. ac on his agnum lande is fe bet-
 “ sta hwæl huntap. þa beoþ eahta and feowertiges elna lange. and þa mæftan
 “ fiftiges elna lange. þara he sæde þæt he syxa sum ofsloge fyxtig¹ on twam
 “ dagum. He wæs swyþe spedig man on þæm æhtum þe heora speda on
 “ beoþ. þæt is on wil drum². He hæfde þa gyt. þa he þone cyning sohte.
 “ tamra, deora, unbebohra syx hund. (þa deor hi hataþ hranas) þara wæron
 “ syx stæl-hranas. þa beoþ swyþe dyre mid Finnum. for þæm hy soþ þa
 “ wildan hranas mid:

“ He wæs mid þæm fyrftum mannum on þæm lande. næfde he þeah ma
 “ þonne twentig hrypera and twentig sceapa and twentig swyna. and þæt
 “ lytle þæt he erede he erede mid horsan. ac hyra ár is mæft on þæm gafole
 “ þe þa Finnas him gyldaþ. þæt gafol biþ on deora fellum. and on fugela
 “ feþerum and hwales bane. and on þæm sciprapum þe beoþ of hwæles
 “ hyde geworht and of feoles. Æghwile gylt be hys gebyrdum. fe byr-
 “ desta sceal gyldan fiftyne mearpes fell. and fif hranes. and an beran fel.
 “ and tyn ambra feþra. and berenne kyrtel oþþe yterenne. and twegen scip-
 “ rapas. ægþer sy fyxtig elna lang. oþer sy of hwæles hyde geworht. oþer
 “ of foles:

“ He sæde þæt norþmanna land wære swyþe lang and swyþe smæl. Eal
 “ þæt his man aþer oþþe ettan oþþe erian mæg. þæt liþ wiþ þa sæ. and þæt is
 “ þeah on sumum stowum swyþe cludig. and licgaþ wilde moras wiþ eastan.
 “ and wiþ upp on emnlange þæm bynum lande. On þæm morum eardiaþ
 “ Finnas. and þæt byne land is easte-weard bradost. and sýmle swa norþor
 “ swa smælre. Easteward hit mæg þion fyxtig mila brad. oþþe hwene
 “ brædre. and midde-weard þritig oþþe bradre. and norþeward he cwæþ
 “ (þær hit smaloft wære) þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þæm more.
 “ and fe mor fyþþan on sumum stowum swa brad swa man mæg on twam
 “ wucum oferferan. and on sumum stowum swa brad swa man mæg on syx
 “ dagum oferferan. Ðonne is to emnes þæm lande suþwardum on oþer
 “ healf þæs mores Sweoland. oþ þæt land norþward. and to emnes þæm

¹ I conceive this should be *ryxa*. D. B. *Nilil necesse*. See the translation. *J. I.*

² *þilþnum* *muþ* be here used as a contraction for *þilþeopum*, or *wild deer*. D. B. There is no necessity, I think, for this forced contraction, of which there is no similar example. It refers to *æbnum* above. See the English translation. *J. I.*

“ land

“ lānd norþweardum Cwena lānd:.. Ða Cwenas hergiaþ hwilum on þa norþ-
 “ meñ ofer þone mor. hwilum þa norþmen on hy. and þær sint swyþe
 “ micle meras ferfe geond þa moras. and berap þa Cwenas hyra scyfu ofer
 “ lānd on þa meras. and þanon hergiaþ on þa norþmen. hy habbaþ swyþe
 “ lytle scyfa and swyþe leohte:..

“ Oht-here fæde þæt fio scir hatte Halgoland þe he on bude:.. He cwæþ
 “ þæt nan man ne bude be norþan him:.. Ðonne is an port on suþweardum
 “ þæm lande. þonne man hæť Sciringes heal. þyder he cwæþ þæt man ne
 “ mihte gefeglian on anum monþe. gyf man on niht wicode¹ and ælce dæg
 “ hæfde ambyrne wind. and ealle þa hwile he sceal seglian be lande. and on
 “ þæt steor-bord him biþ ærest Ira-land. and þonne þa igland^m þe synd be-
 “ twux Ira-lande and þissum land. þonne is þis land of he cymþ to Scirin-
 “ ges heale. and ealne weg on þæt bæc-bord Norþwege. bi suþan þone Sci-
 “ ringes heal fylþ swiþe micel sæ up in on þæt land. seo is brader þonne
 “ ænig man oferfeon mæge. (and is Gotland on oþre healfē ongean. and
 “ siþþa Sillende.) seo sæ liþ mænig hund mila up in on þæt land:.. And of
 “ Sciringes heale he cwæþ þæt he seglode on fif dagan to þæm porte þe
 “ mon hæť æť Hæþum. se stent betwuh Winedum and Seaxum and
 “ Angle. and hyrþ in on Dene:..

“ Ða he þiderweard seglode fram Sciringes heale. þa wæs him on bæc-
 “ bord Dena-mearc. and on þæt steor-bord wid sæ. þry daga:.. And þa
 “ twegen daga ær he to Hæþum come him wæs on þæt steor-bord Got-
 “ land. and Sillende. and iglanda fela. on þæm landum eardodon Engle ær
 “ hi hider on land comon. and him wæs þa twegen daga on þæt bæc-bord
 “ þa igland þe in Dene-mearcē hyraþ:..

“ Wulstan fæde þæt he gefore of Hæþum. þæt he wære on Truso on
 “ syfan dagum and nihtum. þæt þæt scyp wæs ealne weg yrnende under
 “ segle. Weonodland him wæs on steor-bord. and on bæc-bord him wæs
 “ Langaland and Læland and Falster and Scón-eg. and þas land eall yrap
 “ to Dene-mearcan. and þonne Burgenda land wæs us on bæc-bord. and

¹ I suspect this should be *pacode*, or *watched*. D. B.

^m Many words in Saxon were the same both in the singular and plural number; as even to this day *two mile*, *two pound*, &c. are vulgar expressions for *two miles*, *two pounds*, &c. J. I.

“ þa

" þa habbaþ him sylf cyning: Ðonne æfter Burgenda lande wæron us þas
 " land þa synd hatene ærest Blecinga-eg^a and Meore. and Eowland and
 " Götland. on bæc-bord. and þas land hyraþ to Swæon. and Weonod-land
 " wæs us ealne weg on steorbord of Wisse mýpan: Beo Wisse is swyþe
 " mycel ea. and his to liþ Witland and Weonodland. and þæt Witland
 " beþimpeþ to Estum. and se Wisse liþ ut of Weonodlande. and liþ in
 " Estmere. and se Estmere is þaru siftena mila brad: Ðonne cympeþ Ríng
 " eastan in Estmere. of þæm mere þe Trude standeþ in stape. and cympeþ ut
 " eastan in Estmere Ríng eastan of Eastlande and Wisse suþan of Winod
 " lande: and þonne benimpeþ Wisse Ríng hire naman. and liggeþ of þæm mere
 " west. and norþ on sa. forþy hit mán hæt Wisse mýpan: Ðæt Eastland is
 " swyþe micel. and þær biþ swyþe manig burh. and on ælcere byrig biþ cy-
 " ninge. and þær biþ swyþe micel hunig and fiscap. and se cyning and þa ri-
 " costan mán drincap myran^b meolc. and þa unspedigan and þa þeowan
 " drincap medor: Ðær biþ swyþe mycel gewinn betweenan him. and ne
 " biþ þær nænig calo gebrowen mid Estum. ac þær biþ medo genoh:
 " And þær is mid Estum þeaw. þonne þær biþ man deað. þæt he liþ inne
 " unforbærned mid his magum and freondum monap. gehwílan twegen.
 " and þa kyninges and þa oþre heah-þungene men swa micle leng swa hi
 " mæran speda habbaþ. hwílan healf gear þæt hi beap unforbærned and
 " liegaþ bufan eorþan on hyra hufum. and ealle þa hwile þe þæt he biþ inne
 " þær sceal beon gedrync and plega oþ þone dæg þe hi hine forbærneþ:
 " Ðonne þy iltan dæg hi hine to þæm áde beran wyllaþ þonne todeleþ hi
 " his feoh. þæt þær to lafe biþ æfter þæm gedrynce and þæm plegan. on fif
 " oþþe fyx (lawilum on ma) swa swa þær feos andefn biþ: Alecgaþ hit
 " þonne for hwæga on anre mile þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune. þonne
 " oþerne. þonne þæne þridan oþ þe hyt eall aled biþ on þære anre mile. and
 " sceal beon se læsta dæl nyh't þæm tune þe se deaða on liþ.

^a Eg must be here used as a contraction for *egeland*, *an island*, or, as it is more commonly written, *igland*. *D. B.* I suspect this to be merely the concluding syllable of Blecinga-eg, now Blekingen, as we find Sco'n-eg for Schonen, Scania, or Scandinavia. *J. I.*

^b " *Mare's milk*;" the word *mýpan* is not translated by Mr. Barrington; for what reason, I know not; it is certainly the most important word in the sentence, as it conveys to us the intelligence of a curious fact. See the translation, & not. in locum. *J. I.*

" Ðonne

"Donne secolon þeas. gelaenode ealle þa men þe swyftoste hors habbaþ
 "on þam lande for hwega on sif. milum. oþþe on sýx. milum. fram þam feor.
 "Donne sarnað hy ealle. toward þam feo. þonne cymet þe man se þæt
 "swyfte hors hafap to þam ærstan dæl and to þam mæstan. and swa ælc
 "æfter oþrum of hit biþ eall geaumen. and se nymþ þone læstan dæl se
 "nyh't þam tunc. þæt seah gearwe. and þonne rideþ ælc his wegas mid þa
 "feor. and hyt motan habbaþ eall. and forþ þæt beoþ þa swiðtan hors. uge-
 "foge. dýr. And þone his geseon beoþ þas eall aspendeþ þonne byrþ
 "man hipe ut. and forberaet mid his wegnun and hangle. and fæstest
 "ealle þas spedas hy forspendaþ mid þam hangan legger. þas deaðas mannes
 "inne. and þas þe hy be þam wegnun alogaþ. þe þa ferdan so sarnað and
 "nimaþ. And þæt is mid Eðrum þeas. þæt þær sceal ælces geseodes man
 "þe on forberned. and gyf þar man an ban findeþ unforberned. hi hit sceo-
 "lan miculum gebetan. And þær is mid Eastum an mæg. þæt hi wegon
 "cyle gewyrcaþ. and þy þær liggap þa deaðas men. swa lunge. and æc. fæstap.
 "þæt hi wyrcaþ þone cyle hine on. and þeah man afeor twegen fæstap full
 "ealop. oþþe wæteres. hy gedoþ þæt oþer biþ oferfæstap. sam hit sy summer.
 "sam winter."

Nu wille we secgan be supan Donua þære éa ymb Creca land. þe liþ wyþ
 eastan. Constantinopolim (Creca byrig) is se sæ Propontis. and be norþan
 Constantinopolim (Creca byrig) scyt se sæ earm. up of þam sæ mostriht þe
 man hæet Euxinus. and be westan norþan þære byrig Donua muþa þære éa
 scyt sup east ut on þone sæ Euxinus. and on sup healfe and on westhealfe
 þæs muþan syndon Moesi Creca leode. and be westan þære byrig syndon
 Traci. and be eastan þære byrig syndon Macedonie. and be supan þære by-
 rig. on suphealfe þæs sæs earms. þe man hæet Egeum. syndon Athena. and
 Corinthus þa land. and be westan supan Corinthon is Achaie þæt land. æt
 þam Wendel sæ. Ðas land syndon Creca leode. And be westan Achaie.
 andlang þæs Wendel sæs. is Dalmatia þæt land on norþhealfe þæs sæs. and
 be norþan Dalmatia syndon Pulgase. and Istria. and be supan Istria is se
 Wendel sæ þe man hæet Adriaticum. and be westan þa beorgas þe man hæet
 Alpis. and be norþan þæt westen þæt is betwux Carendran and Fulgarum.

Donne is Italia land west norþ lang. and east sup lang. and hit belip Wen-
 del sæ ymb eall utan buton westan norþan. æt þam ende hit belicgap þa be-

orgas þe man hæf Alpīs. þa onginnap-weftan fram þæm Wendel fæ in Nārbonenfe þære þeodle. and endiaþ eft eaft in Dālmātia þæm lande æt þæm fæ:.
 Ða land þe man hæf Gallia Belgica. be eaftan þæm is fīo ēa þe man hæf Rīn. and be fūþan þa beorgas þe man hæf Alpīs. and be weftan fūþan fe garfecg þe man hæf Brittannifca. and be norþan on oþre heafte þæs garfecges earm is Brittannia:.
 Ðæt land be weftan Ligore is Æquitania land. and be fūþan Æquitania is þæs landes fūm dæl Nārbonenfe. and be weftan fūþan Iþpania land. and be weftan garfecg be fūþan Nārbonenfe is fe Wendel fæ. þær þæt Rodan feo ēa ut fcyt and be eaftan him Proſent-fæ. and be weftan him Proſent-fæ ofer þa weftenu feo us nearre Iþpania. and be weftan him and be norþan Equitania. and Waſcan be norþan. Proſent-fæ hæfþ be norþan hyre þa beorgas þe man Alpīs hæf. and be fūþan hyre is Wendel fæ. and be norþan hyre and eaftan fynd Burgendē. and Waſcan be weftan:.
 Iþpania land is þry-fcyte. and eall mid fleote utan ymbhæfd. (ge eac biþnan ymbhæfd ofer þa land.) ægher ge of þæm garfecge ge of þæm Wendel fæ:.
 An þær gapena^p hī fūþweft ongearn þæt igland þe Gades hatte. and oþer eaft ongearn þæt land Nārbonenfe. and fe þridða norþweft ongearn Brigantia Gallia burh:.
 And ongearn Scotland. ofer þone fæs earm. on geryhte ongearn þæne mūþan þe mōn hæf Scēne^q. feo us fyrre Iþpania. hyre is be weftan garfecg. and be norþan Wendel fæ. be fūþan and be eaftan feo us nearre Iþpania. be norþan þære ſynt Equitania. and be norþan eaftan is fe weald Pyreni. and be eaftan Nārbonenfe. and be fūþan Wendel fæ:.
 : Brittannia^r þæt igland. hit is norþ eaft lang. and hit is eahta hund milā

^p An þær gapena, i. e. one of the *garrs*, wards, promontories, (*ἀκρᾶ*), or angular boundaries, &c. Mr. Barrington improperly prints γ, the abbreviation of *and*; in consequence of which the *genitive case precedes the verb*! The word gap in this passage may ſerve to lead us to the etymology of *Trafal-gar*, *þpy-falb-gap*, Sax. a triple promontory or point of land, immortalized by the triumphs of Nelson and the British Navy! *J. I.*

^q Now the mouth of the *Sbannon*; written by Cellarius, *Schannon*, who refers to this very paſſage of Oroſius; *Scena*, & *Senus*, Lat. *J. I.*

^r This deſcription of the iſland of Great Britain, tranſlated from Oroſius, may be compared with the following, tranſlated from Venerable Bede by the ſame royal Paraphraſt:
 “BREOTON is garfecges Ealond þæt wæs iugeara ALBION haten. is geſeted betwyh
 “norþdæle and weſtdæle Germanie and Gallie and Hiſpanie. þam mæſtum dælum Europe
 “mycele fæce ongegen. þæt is Norþ ehta hund mila lang and twa hund mila brad. hit haſap
 “fram

lang; and twa hund mila brad. þonne is be suþan him on oþre healfse þæs sæs earmes Gallia Belgica. and on west healfse on oþre healfse þæs sæs earmes is Ibernia þæt igland. and on norþ healfse Orcadus þæt igland. Ighernia. þæt we Scotland hataþ. hit is on ælce healfse ymbfangen mid garfenge. and forþon þe fio sunne þær gæþ nea'r on setl þonne on oþrum lande þær fyndon lyþran wedera þonne on Brettaunia. Ðonne be westan norþan Ibernia is þæt yf-meste land þæt man hæþ. Thula, and hit is feawum mannum cup for hære ofer fyrrc.

Nu hæbbe we gesead ymbe galle Europe land-gemaro. hu hi tolingaþ.

from Sappho. It may be observed that Gallia Belgica, &c., The whole descrip-
tion must be interesting to every Englishman. Vide lib. i. cap. 1. J. I.

This reason for the weather in Ireland being more mild than it is in Britain, is added by the royal Translator, who at the same time leaves out what Orosius mentions with regard to the Isle of Man: "Huic" (sc. Hibernia): "etiam Menavia insula proxima est, et ipsa spatio non parua, solo oceanoda, atque a Scotorum gentibus inhabitata." Oros. lib. 4. c. 3. 11111111.

The classical reader will here recognize the "Ultima Thule" of Virgil, &c. and will agree with Orosius and his royal Translator, that it could not have been much known in their times, when he finds an annotator on Juvenal (Sat. lib. xv. ver. 112.) doubting whether by Thule we are to understand Norway, or the *isle of Sebelland*, i. e. the *Shetland isles*. This uncertainty, however, is pardonable in Lubinus; but that Professor Heyne should write the following note, is surprizing: "Thulen ad nostras insulas Suetlandicas a septentrione Bri-
"tannice objectas referendas esse, nunc satis constat." (Virg. Georg. I. 3.) Those who attentively examine the situation of the Shetland isles will say, perhaps, *non constat*. *Scythia* Norway, which was ignorantly supposed by the ancients to be an *island*, is much more likely to be the *ultima Thule* than the Shetland isles. But the fact is, *Island* was discovered more than *three centuries* before the Christian æra, by Pytheas of Marseilles; and though the Greeks and Romans knew but little about it, as may be seen in the works of Strabo, Polybius, Plutarch, Pliny, Procopius, &c. &c. yet it was well known to the Norwegians, and those *few nations* to which the Royal Geographer alludes, at a very early period. The situation of *Island*, *west* by *north* of Ireland, as it is accurately described by King Alfred, appears to decide this long-disputed question in geography. Norway was easily confounded with *Island* by the Greeks and Romans, because some part of it lies in the same latitude, and they all imagined it to be an island! I intend, on some future occasion, to illustrate the geography of the ancients, as far as it relates to the northern parts of Europe. J. I.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE PRONUNCIATION.

WHEN the Saxon language is properly pronounced, it is by no means deficient in harmony, though its peculiar characteristics are strength and significance of expression, together with a facility and felicity of combination, which are ~~exceeded only by the copiousness of the Greek~~. In the pronunciation of *c* and *g*, the Saxons, long before the Norman conquest, appear to have nearly coincided with the Italians, either from their religious intercourse with the see of Rome, or from that natural propensity which all nations have to soften their language in the progress of refinement. Thus our modern *ch* was ~~anciently expressed by *c* only~~, as in the word *ceosen*, *chosen*, *Cester*, *Chester*, &c. *sc* had the sound of *sh*, the German *sch*, &c. as in the word *scip*, a *ship*, *fisceras*, *fishermen*, &c. *g*, the origin of the *z* which we find in Scoto-Saxon and old English MSS. was pronounced like *y* in many instances, particularly before the vowel *e*, sometimes even before *a*, *u*, &c. as in *dagas*, *dagum*, *days*, &c. hence the origin of *yate* for *gate*, still used in Gloucestershire. *Land-gemære*, *geseglian*, *manega*, *ælcere*, *agnum hame*, *fugleran*, *fugleras*, &c. if pronounced according to the Italian manner, will be found not unharmonious. The difficulty consists in knowing when these doubtful consonants are to be pronounced hard and when soft; for this very purpose, the Danish *k* was early introduced, and *c* was often inserted before *g*, or a double *cc* or double *gg* was adopted, which produced the hard *c* and *g*; thus *kynincge* for *cyninge*, *kyrtel* for *cyrtel*, *sticce-mæ-lum*, (*sick-meal*), &c. were used as early as the time of Alfred, if we have the original MS. of his translation of Orosius, which is the belief of most antiquaries. The Normans preferred the soft sounds of these letters; hence *micel* (or *nitchel*) for *mickle*; *bridge*, for *brigg*, &c. The final *e* was seldom quiescent, and generally pronounced as by the Italians to this day; hence *Beme* is found written for *Be'mæ*, or *Bohemi*, the *Bohemians*; *Dene* is the same with *Dani*, the *Danes*. Contractions were common; thus, *n'yste* for *ne wißt*; *n'æfde*, for *ne hæfed*, *had not*; *yrn'þ*, for *yrneþ*, *rummeth*, &c.

THE

THE
GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE;
EXTRACTED
FROM KING ALFRED'S
ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS;

INCLUDING

An original Periplus round the North Cape, with two other Voyages
within the Baltic; written by KING ALFRED, from the reports of
two Northern Navigators, OHT-HERE and WULFSTAN, in the
NINTH CENTURY!

CONCLUSIONS

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100

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being studied. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being studied.

[illegible]

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

BY
KING ALFRED, &c.

NOW will we describe the geography of Europe; so far, at least, as our knowledge of it extends. From the river Tanais, westward to the river Rine, (which takes its rise from the Alps, and runs directly north thenceforward on to the arm of the Ocean that surrounds Bryttania,) then southward to the river Danube, (whose source is near the river Rine, running afterwards in its course along the confines of Northern Greece, till it empties itself into the Mediterranean^a;) and northward even unto the ocean, which men call Cwen-sea; within these boundaries are many nations; but the whole of this tract of country is called Germany.

Then to the north of the source of the Danube, and to the east of the Rine, are the Eastern Franks^{1 b}; and to the south of them are the Suabians²; on the opposite bank of the Danube, and to the south and east are the Bavarians³, in that part which is called Regnesburh. Due east from thence are the Bohemians⁴, and to the north-east^c the Thyringians⁵, to the

^a In the Saxon, "the Wendel-sea," which comprehended the whole of that *winding or wandering* sea, which extended from the Euxine to the pillars of Hercules. *J. I.*

^b This and the following figures refer to Mr. Forster's notes, printed at the end of this translation, which are too ingenious and learned to be consigned to oblivion. *J. I.*

^c East-north, in the Saxon, as I have before observed with regard to the south-west, which in the Saxon is west-south; a single instance follows, however, where the point south-west is mentioned, and not west-south. *D. B.* East-north signifies north-east by *north*. *J. I.*

north

north of these are the Old SAXONS⁶, to the north-west are the Friesland-ers⁷, and to the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the Elbe, as also Friesland. Hence to the west-north⁴ is that land which is called Angla-land⁸, Sealand, and some part of Den-marc; to the north is Afdredè⁹, and to the east-north the wolds⁶ which are called the Heath-wolds¹⁰. Hence eastward is the land of the Veneti¹¹, (who are also called Silefæ,) extending south-west over a great part of the territory of the Moravians. These Moravians¹² have to the west the Thyringians and Bohemians, as also part of Bavaria, and to the south, on the other side of the Danube, is the country of the Carinthians¹³, lying southward even to the Alps. To the same mountains also extend the boundaries of the Bavarians and the Suabians. Thence to the eastward of Carinthia, beyond the waste, is the land of the Bulgarians¹⁴. To the east of them is the land of the Greeks¹⁵; and to the east of Moravia is Wile-land¹⁶; to the east of that are the Dacæ¹⁷, who were originally a tribe of Goths. To the north-east of the Moravians are the Dalamenfæ¹⁸; east of the Dalamenfians are the Horithi, and north of the Dalamenfians are the Servians¹⁹; to the west also are the Silefians²⁰. To the north of the Horiti²¹ is Mazovia, and north of Mazovia²² are the Sarmatians²³ quite to the Riphæan mountains. To the west of the Southern Danes is the arm of the ocean that furrounds Britannia, and to the north of them is the arm of the sea called Ost-sea; to the east and to the north of them are the Northern Danes²⁴, both on the continent and on the islands; to the east of them are the Afdredè; and to the south is the mouth of the Elb, with some part of Old Saxony. The Northern Danes have to the north of them the same arm of the sea called Ost sea²⁵; to the east of them is the nation of the Estonians²⁶, and the Afdredè to the south. The Estonians have to the north of them the same arm of the sea, and also the Winedæ and Burgundæ²⁷, and to the south are the Heath-wolds. The Burgundians have the same arm of the sea to the west of them, and the Sweons²⁸ to the north; to the east of them are the Sarmatians, and to the south the Servians. The Sweons have to the south of them the same arm

⁴ This should be north-east. *D. B.* If by *west-north* we understand *north-west* by *north*, we shall see no occasion to alter the expression in the text. *J. I.*

⁶ Wylte. *D. B.* See a note on this word hereafter. *J. I.*

of

to the east of them the Sarmatians; and to the north, ~~and~~ the wastes, is Cwenland; to the west-north of them are the Strick-Finnas; and to the west the Northmen.

“~~So~~ ~~Da~~ ~~ward~~ told his lord, king ALFRED, that he lived to the north of ~~all~~ the Northmen. He says, that he dwelt on the mainland to the ~~of~~ northward, by the west sea; ^{and} that the land, however, extends to a very ~~of~~ great length thence onward to the north; but it is all waste, except in a few places, where the Finlanders occasionally resort, for hunting in the winter, and in the summer for fishing along the sea-coast. He said, that he was determined to find out, on a certain time, how far this country extended northward, or whether any one lived to the north of the waste. With this intent he proceeded northward along the coast, leaving all the way the waste-land on the starboard, and the wide sea on the back-board*, for three days. He was then as far north as the whale-hunters ever go. He then continued his voyage, steering yet northward, as far as he could sail within three other days. Then the land began to take a

Hakluyt terms the country Strick-Finnia; and Richard Johnson, in his account of Nova Zembla, says, “That E. S. E. from the castle of Wardhus are the Strick-Finnes, who are a wild people, which neither know God nor good order; and these people live in tents made of deer-skins, and they have no certain habitations, but continue in herds and companies, by one hundred and two hundreds.” Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 283. *D. B.* Vid. loc. cit. *J. I.* It may be imagined by a fastidious critic, that this expression is incorrect; Herodotus found fault with the term *Hyperboreans*; as if, says he, there could be any people *above* or *beyond* the North! The observation, however, is perhaps *hypercritical*. In the present instance, the Saxon expression of King Alfred is much more elegant and correct than that of his modern translator: literally; “That he of all the northern men the northern-most abode.” *J. I.*

The word *lang*, well denoting the extreme *length* of Norway, is omitted in Mr. Barrington's edition, as well as in the Oxford edition of 1678, though it is there properly translated, “dixit terram illam occidentalem *longe* versus Aquilonem esse *profectum*.” Mr. Barrington, however, translates the passage with abundance of confusion and contradiction: “the land of the Northmen is due north from that sea.” In which short sentence there are *three* mistakes: a proof of the importance of a single word, and that an adjective and a monosyllable! *J. I.*

“*þa* for he norprihte be *þæm* lande,” which is not fully translated; “atque *ea* *propter se* *recta* versus septentrionem esse *profectum*.” See the Oxford edition, by the Scholars of University College. *D. B.* See also the notes of the ingenious Mr. Forster, sub initium. *J. I.*

* Or to the left. *D. B.* The *lar-board*, according to the present nautical phrase. *J. I.*

L

“turn

“ turn¹ to the eastward, even unto the inland sea, but he knows not how
 “ much farther^m. He remembers, however, that he stayed there waiting
 “ for a western wind, or a point to the north, and sailed thence eastward by
 “ the land, as far as he could in four days. Then he was obliged to wait
 “ for a due north wind, because the land there began to run southward; quite
 “ to the inland sea, he knows not how farⁿ. He sailed thence along the
 “ coast southward, as far as he could in five days. There lay then a great
 “ river^o a long way up in the land, into the mouth of which they entered^p,
 “ because they durst not proceed beyond the river from an apprehen-
 “ sion of hostilities^q; for the land was all inhabited on the other side of
 “ the river. Ohthere, however, had not met with any inhabited land be-
 “ fore this, since he first set out from his own home. All the land to his
 “ right, during his whole voyage, was uncultivated, and without inhabit-
 “ ants, except a few fishermen, fowlers, and hunters^r; all of whom were
 “ Finlanders; and he had nothing but the wide sea on his left all the way.
 “ The Biarmians, indeed, had well cultivated their land; though Ohthere
 “ and his crew durst not enter upon it; but the land of the Torne-Finnas^s

¹ beah, Sax. the preterit of be'an, or bygan, to bend. See the original, & not. in loc. J. I.

^m The words in the original are, “ opþe sio sæ in on þæt land he nyste hwæþer,” which in the Latin translation run, “ Nescire autem se num infra terram illam sit mare;” but the objection to this translation is, that there is no word in the Saxon to be rendered *sit*. D. B. The greatest objection is, that the word hwæþer has been misunderstood, which in this place signifies *whither*, or *how far*, *quousque*; not *whether*, *utrum*, *necne*; *num*, &c. Mr. Barrington's translation is therefore right in the present instance. This inland sea is the Cwen-sea. J. I.

ⁿ By this the land and inland sea before mentioned are plainly alluded to. D. B.

^o The river Dwina, near Archangel; see the notes at the end of this translation. J. I.

^p I must here object again to the Latin translation of the following words, “ þa cyrdon hy “ up in on þa ea,” viz. “ ad ejus ostia se substitisse,” which is by no means the sense of the passage. D. B. They turned in upon the river, without landing on the coast. J. I.

^q “ Metu incolarum,” Lat. transl. “ for unfriþe,” Sax. i. e. for want of free passport, or permission. They therefore conversed with the natives from the ship. J. I.

^r Ohthere had before explained this resort to have been only occasional. D. B.

^s Mr. Lye, in his Saxon Dictionary, refers to this word, and renders it *Tartari*! D. B. Our Saxon and English *word-books* are too frequently but blind guides. J. I.

“ was

"was all waste"; and it was only occasionally inhabited by hunters, and
 "fishermen, and fowlers.

"The Biarmians" told him many stories, both about their own land
 "and about the other countries around them; but Onthere knew not how
 "much truth there was in them, because he had not an opportunity of see-
 "ing with his own eyes. It seemed however to him, that the Finlanders
 "and the Biarmians spoke nearly the same language. The principal object
 "of his voyage, indeed, was already gained; which was, TO INCREASE
 "THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAND"; and on account of the horse-whales;
 "because they have very beautiful bone in their teeth", some of which they

1 Tornes-Lapmark and Finmark, both which perhaps are to be understood by the *land of the Tarfman*, are very little cultivated to this day. Between the Bothnic gulf and the sea are immense forests, which if cleared might very much improve the climate of those northern regions, and open a new field for the industry of man. *J. I.*

2 It must be owned, that this rather contradicts what is mentioned in the preceding period. *D. B.* This apparent contradiction arises from the obscurity of the original, which I think may be removed by a little attention. See note *q* in the preceding page. *J. I.*

3 Hence we may conclude, that it was but little known at that time. The original words in the Saxon are, "Swipost he for þider to ecan þæs landes focawunge;" the last word (*þocawunge*) being mistaken, and printed *scapunge*, (*þaping*), from the similarity of the Saxon *p* to *p*, Mr. Barrington has erroneously translated the passage thus: "He went the rather, and *þaped* his course to each of these countries, on account of the horse-whales," &c. as if he had made only a *customary* voyage to Finland and Biarmia! The verb *ecan* also, which signifies to *eke*, or *increase*, seems to have been confounded with the modern pronoun *each*, which however in Saxon is *ælc*, *elc*, &c. It is moreover remarkable, that the words are not translated at all in the Latin version of Sir John Spelman: "Ipsum vero has regiones præcipue adiisse, capiendorum Hippopotomorum gratia," &c! Yet the passage appears too easy and obvious to be misunderstood, and at the same time so important, that it might well serve as a motto to every voyage of discovery, every active and public-spirited enterprise, undertaken to *show* to mankind more clearly and completely the knowledge of distant lands! In this point of view the Periplus of ONTHERE becomes important, and we may consider him, perhaps, as THE FIRST NAVIGATOR THAT SAILED ROUND THE NORTH CAPE, of which the ancients knew nothing! Yet, though the history of his discoveries has been dignified and immortalized by the pen of ALFRED, his glory has been hitherto diminished by the inattention of Englishmen to the treasures that are concealed in their ancient language! *J. I.*

4 It is said that one of these teeth, in the 16th. century, sold for a ruble. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 280. *D. B.* They held it at a ruble, as a common price. Vid. loc. cit. *J. I.*

“brought to the King^a; and their hides are good for ship-ropes. This
 “sort of whale is much less than the other kinds; it is not longer, com-
 “monly, than seven ells: but in his own country (Ohthere says) is the
 “best whale-hunting; there the whales are eight and forty ells long, and
 “the largest^a fifty; of these, he said, he once killed (six in company) six-
 “ty^b in two days. He was a very rich man in the possession of those ani-
 “mals in which their principal wealth consists, namely, such as are naturally
 “wild. He had then, when he came to seek King Alfred^c, six hundred
 “deer, all tamed by himself, and not purchased. They call them rein-deer.
 “Of these six were stall-reins, or decoy-deer^d, which are very valuable
 “amongst the Finlanders, because they catch the wild-deer with them.

^a Sc. Ælfred. D. B. See note *e* hereafter. *J. I.* From this circumstance it hath been inferred, that Ohthere was sent by this king on this discovery, which however is by no means conclusive; for every traveller, in relating his voyage, shews the product of the countries he hath visited. Richard Chancellor, speaking of the commodities of Russia, says, “There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a *Morffē*.” Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 237. fol. 1598. D. B. See also pp. 280, 493, &c. &c. of the same vol. with the notes hereafter. *J. I.*

^a Mæstan, very improperly rendered in the Latin translation *nonnullæ*. D. B.

^b I conceive that *fyxa* should be a second time repeated here, instead of *fyxtig*, or sixty; it would then only be asserted, that *fix* had been taken in two days, which is much more probable than sixty. D. B. The translator of the *Periplus* in *Hakluyt* understands the passage as implying, that *fix men together* slew sixty in two days. This sense, which is easy and obvious, removes the difficulty; I have therefore adopted it in the present translation. *J. I.*

^c This shews, that Ohthere was a man of considerable substance when he left his own country to come to England; and there is not the least allusion to his having been sent to the northward by Ælfred, as this voyage seems to have happened long before he was known to that king. D. B. I have inserted the name of Alfred in the translation, though the modest omission of it in the original, both here and in a former instance, is no inconsiderable proof, among many others, that this is the genuine work of that incomparable monarch, and that Ohthere's enterprise also originated in his own mind. “*Da he þone cyninge sohte*,” “when he the King sought,” are the words of the original. See a former passage of this *Periplus*; “*þa tēþ hy broton fume to þæm cynincge*: some of these teeth they brought to the “King;” & not. in loc. The name of Alfred is mentioned but once. Vid. p. 60. *J. I.*

^d The Saxon word is *stæl-hranas*; and we apply, even to this day, the word *stale* to a dead bird, which is placed on a tree in a living attitude, surrounded with lime-twigs, in order to entice the wild ones. D. B. The reader must weigh this note with caution, lest he should suppose the rein-deer above mentioned were *dead*, *stale*, and *putrid*, with which the Finlanders caught

“Ohthere himself was amongst the first men in the land, though he
 “had not more than twenty rother-beasts^c, twenty sheep, and twenty
 “swine; and what little he ploughed, he ploughed with horses. The an-
 “nual revenue of these people consists chiefly in a certain tribute which the
 “Finlanders yield them^f. This tribute is derived from the skins of ani-
 “mals, feathers of various birds, whale-bone, and ship-ropes, which are
 “made of whales hides and of seals. Every one pays according to his sub-
 “stance; the wealthiest man amongst them pays only the skins of fifteen
 “martens, five rein-deer skins, one bear’s skin, ten bushels of feathers, a
 “cloak of bear’s or otter’s skin, two ship-ropes, (each sixty ells long,) one
 “made of whale’s, and the other of seal’s skin.

“Ohthere moreover said, that the land of the Northmen was very long
 “and very narrow; all that is fit either for pasture or plowing lies along
 “the sea-coast, which however is in some parts very cloddy; along the
 “eastern side are wild moors, extending a long way up parallel to the culti-
 “vated land. The Finlanders inhabit these moors; and the cultivated land
 “is broadest to the eastward; and, altogether, the more northward it lies,

caught the wild-deer. The word denotes those rein-deer that were kept in *stalls*, or, trained for the purposes of deer-stealing. Vid. Ol. Magn. lib. xvii. cap. 28. et seqq. *J. I.*

^c i. e. red cattle, as opposed to black cattle; I have retained this word, because it is still in use in many counties—particularly where the modern system of *severalty* and *inclosure* has not superseded the old practice of *common pasturage*. The subsequent observation, which King Alfred makes with some degree of astonishment, that the little land which Ohthere ploughed *he ploughed with horses*, is a very curious and striking proof of the preference given to *OXEN* in this country, even in the NINTH CENTURY! Is there any thing *new* then in the suggestions of modern agriculturists in favour of this preference? I remember only one passage of antiquity, in which the use of *horses* instead of *oxen* is at all countenanced. It is in that beautiful chorus in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, in which he describes the wonderful operations of *MAN*! Among the rest he is said to subdue the earth, *ἰππῶν γενοὶ πολέων*, (ver. 349.) which the Scholiast, however, explains by *ἡμιονοῖς*, *mules*; as if he could not suppose Sophocles to be so bad an agriculturist as to recommend the noble race of horses, when mules or oxen would answer the purpose better. *Λι γὰρ τε βοῶν προφερέσθαι εἰσιν, ἔλκεται νεικίῳ βαδῶνς πηκτὸν ἄροτρον*. Hom. *Ἦνεις δὲ* (says the Scholiast, as if recollecting an exception to a general custom,) *ἰππῶν γενοὶ εἰς ἄροτρασμαν*. Vid. Schol. in locum. *J. I.*

^f This is now exacted from the Finlanders by Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. See the interesting account of the “Ambassade of Dr. Giles Fletcher, &c.” in the year 1588. *J. I.*

“the

“the more narrow it is. Eastward it may perhaps be sixty miles broad;
 “in some places broader; about the middle, thirty miles, or somewhat
 “more; and northward, Ohthere says, (where it is narrowest) it may be
 “only three miles across from the sea to the moors; which, however, are
 “in some parts so wide, that a man could scarcely pass over them in two
 “weeks, though in other parts perhaps in six days^ε. Then parallel with
 “this land southward is Sweoland^h, on the other side of the moors, extend-
 “ing quite to the northwardⁱ; and, running even with the northern part
 “of it, is Cwenaland^k. The Cwenas^k sometimes make incursions against
 “the Northmen over these moors, and sometimes the Northmen on them;
 “there are very large meres of fresh water beyond the moors, and the
 “Cwenas carry their ships^l over land into the meres, whence they make
 “depredations on the Northmen; they have ships that are very small and
 “very light.

^ε These very minute particulars seem plainly to be taken down by Ælfred, from Ohthere's own mouth, as he corrects himself most scrupulously, in order to inform the King with accuracy. *D. B.* This survey of Ohthere is a curious remnant of Northern topography. *J. I.*

^h Now *Swe-den*; as if the inhabitants were a mixture of Swedes and Danes, (or Danes;) unless *den* be thought to signify a retreat, refuge, or habitation. See more hereafter. *J. I.*

ⁱ i. e. Northmanna-land, Ohthere's own country. *D. B.* From several particulars contained in this minute description of North-manna-land, or the land of the Northmen, it is evident that Helgoland, the country of Ohthere, was a distinct territory, independent of what is now called Norway; and even to this day, Helgeland forms a separate district, situated between Trondheim on the south side, and the lands still called Nordlands on the north. Mr. Barrington seems to have confounded it with Northmanna-land, which was a general term, comprehending both Norway and Helgoland; *the land of the Northmen.* *J. I.*

^k Whether the Cwenas, or *Queens*, a word which in the original Cimbic and Islandic signifies *women* as well as *fair men*, were not in earlier times the same with the Scythian Amazons of Herodotus, may be worthy of consideration. In the elegant language of Sweden the *fair sex* are all without exception called *quin-folk* to this day, without any exclusive restriction of the word to *royalty*. The Samoyedes are described by Dr. Giles Fletcher, as “naturally beardless; and therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their looks.” Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 491. See the notes hereafter on the Cwen-sea, &c. *J. I.*

^l These *ships* were probably the same with the small boats called coracles, which are used both on the Towy and the Wye. They make them near Monmouth, not to weigh above 45lb. and they are easily therefore carried on a fisherman's back over shallows. *D. B.*

“ Oh-

"Ohtere said, that the shire^m which he inhabited is called Halgolandⁿ.
 "He says, that no human being abode in any fixed habitation to the north
 "of him^o. There is a port to the south of this land, which is called Scir-
 "ringes-heal^p. Thither he said that a man could not sail in a month, if
 "he watched in the night^q, and every day had a fair wind; and all the
 "while he shall sail along the coast; and on his right hand first is Is-
 "LAND³³^q, and then the islands which are between Island and this land.

^m That is, the *share*, division, or district, of Northmannaland, situated between Norway, properly so called, and Finmark, or Terfinauland, as Ohtere calls the land beyond him. *J. I.*

ⁿ "The land was all full of little islands, and that innumerable, which were called *Æge-*
land and *Halgeland*, in lat. 66. deg. N." Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 235. where the following note is inserted in the margin: "In this land dwelt Ochther, as it seemeth." *D. B.*

^o It should seem that this is to be understood as confined to Halgeland, as the port to the south, which follows, *plainly* relates to the same province. *D. B.* This is *plainly* impossible; see the context, and the notes which follow hereafter. *J. I.*

^p The word in the original is *wicode*, which is rendered "*cursum sistens*;" but it properly signifies *to go back*, and not *stop*^a. I cannot, therefore, but think that it should be *wacode*^b, and the meaning would then be, that this port was distant a month's sail, if the vessel continued its course both by day and night. As for this port called Scirringes-heal, in order to find out what place is hereby intended, we should suppose it to be pronounced *Sbirringes-heal*; for *sc*, followed by the vowels *i* and *e*, (and sometimes by others,) seems always to have been pronounced by the Saxons as it is by the Italians in the word *Sciolto*, pronounced *Sbiolto*^c. Thus we pronounce *scip* *ship*, *scie* *shell*, *scild* *shield*, *scina* *shin*, *scire* *shire*, *scicas*, *scib*, &c. *D. B.* This accounts for the apparent dissimilarity between *Scytas*, Sax. *Scots*, or *Scottishmen*, which the Greeks wrote *Σκυθαι*, and the softer pronunciation of our present language in the verb *to shoot*, *scytan*, Sax. The second age of mankind, according to Epiphanius, was *Σκυθισμος*, the age of *archery*. See also Herodotus. Hence it is, that so many parts of the globe are described by historians as being originally inhabited by *Scythians*. The Hippotoxotæ gave rise to the fable of the Centaurs. Scotland and Shetland still retain the Scythian name. *J. I.*

^q I suspect, that the true reading in the original, instead of *Ira-land*, (i. e. Scotland,) should be *Isa-land*, *Ifeland*, (or, as it is sometimes improperly written, *Iceland*.) How frequently the Saxon letters *p* and *r* have been confounded and interchanged, is well known to every person conversant in the language. As Ohtere sailed from Halgoland, *Island* was the

^a There is no instance, I believe, of this signification. Lye improperly gives *recedere* with *wac-illare*. *J. I.*

^b If so, many persons will deny the connection between this word and the Latin "*vig-illare*." In the old Saxon, vowels are as little to be depended upon as the Mazoretic points in Hebrew. *J. I.*

^c And like the *sch* of the Germans. See *Directions for the Pronunciation*, p. 68. *J. I.*

first

“ Then this land^r continues quite to Sciringes-heal ; and all the way on the
 “ left is NORWAY. To the south of Sciringes-heal a great sea^s runs up a
 “ vast way into the country, and is so wide, that no man can see across it.
 “ (Jutland is opposite on the other side, and then Sealand.) This sea lies
 “ many hundred miles up into the land. Ohthere further says, that he
 “ sailed in five days from Sciringes-heal to that port which men call Æt-
 “ Hæthum³⁴, which stands between the Winedæ, the Saxons, and the An-
 “ gles, and is subject to the Danes.

“ When Ohthere sailed to this place from Sciringes-heal, Denmark was
 “ on his left, and on his right the wide sea, for three days ; and for the
 “ two days before he came to Hæthum, on his right hand was Jutland,
 “ Sealand, and many islands ; ALL WHICH LANDS WERE INHABITED
 “ BY THE ENGLISH, BEFORE THEY CAME HITHER^t ; and for these two
 “ days the islands which are subject to Denmark were on his left^u.”

“ WULFSTAN said, that he went from Heathum to Trufo³⁵ in seven days
 “ and nights, and that the ship was running under sail all the way. Weo-
 “ nodland was on his right, and Langland, Læland, Falster, and Sconey, on
 “ his left, all which land is subject to Denmark³⁶. “ Then on our left we^x

first land to his right, and then the islands of Faroe, Shetland, and Orkney, between Island and this land, (i. e. England ;) then this land continued still on his right hand, till he entered the Baltic, which he soon afterwards describes very accurately, as running up many hundred miles into the land, and so wide that no man could see over it. Yet Mr. Barrington translates, “ the sea of Sillende lies many miles up,” &c! The two most difficult places to ascertain in this Periplus are Sciringes-heal and At-hæthum. See the notes hereafter. *J. I.*

^r i. e. England ; for King Alfred must be supposed to be here speaking. *J. I.*

^s i. e. the East-sea ; the Baltic, or Beltic ; including the Great and Little Belts, the Sound, Cattegat, Skager-rack, &c. together with the gulfs of Bothnia, Finland, and Livonia. *J. I.*

^u These were the islands of Moen, Falster, Læland, Langland, &c. some of which are mentioned immediately after in the account of Wulfstan's voyage. I trust this part of Alfred's geography must be interesting to every English reader, particularly from some recent operations, and from the present theatre of an eventful war ! *J. I.*

^t This clears up most decisively the doubts in Camden's Preface, p. clviii. with regard to the situation of the Angles. *D. B.* The Danes afterwards took possession of these lands. *J. I.*

^x It seems very clear, from this expression of *we*, that when King Alfred came to that part of the history of Orosius, which describes the geography of the North, he consulted Ohthere and Wulfstan, who had lived in the northern parts of Europe, which the ancients were so

little

“ had the land of the Burgundians, who have a king to themselves. Then,
 “ after the land of the Burgundians, we had on our left the lands that have
 “ been called from the earliest times Blekingey⁷, and Meore⁸, and Eow-
 “ land⁹; and Gotland¹⁰; all which territory is subject to the Sweons; and
 “ Weonodland was all the way on our right, as far as Weiffel-mouth¹¹.
 “ The Weiffel is a very large river, and near it lie Witland² and Weonod-
 “ land. Witland belongs to the people of Eastland; and out of Weonod-
 “ land flows the river Weiffel, which empties itself afterwards into Est-
 “ mere¹². This lake, called Estmere, is about fifteen miles broad. Then
 “ runs the Ifing east [of the Weiffel] into Estmere, from that lake on the
 “ banks of which stands Truso. These two rivers come out together into
 “ Estmere; the Ifing east from Eastland, and the Weiffel south from
 “ Weonodland¹³. Then the Weiffel deprives the Ifing of its name, and,
 “ flowing from the west part of the lake, at length empties itself northward
 “ into the sea; whence this point is called the Weiffel-mouth. This coun-
 “ try called Eastland¹⁴ is very extensive, and there are in it many towns,
 “ and in every town is a king. There is a great quantity of honey and
 “ fish; and even the king and the richest men drink mare’s milk¹⁵, whilst
 “ the poor and the slaves drink mead. There is a vast deal of war and

little acquainted with, and that he took down this account from their own mouths. For the same reason, it is not improbable that there may be some mistakes in the King’s relation, as, though these northern travellers spoke a language bearing an affinity to the Anglo-Saxon, yet it was certainly a dialect with material variations. For proof of this, let a chapter of the *Speculum Regale*, written in the old Islandic or Norwegian, be compared with the Anglo-Saxon. This very curious work was published at Soroe, in 1768. D. B.

⁷ I have adopted the modern name of this river, *Weiffel*, in preference to the *Vistula* of the ancient geographers, or the *Wesel* of Mr. Barrington; though perhaps King Alfred’s orthography (*Wisle*) is the best, as it approaches nearer to the *Vistula* of the ancients, and the modern *Wisla* of the Poles. Poland is also called *Wisle-land* by King Alfred, p. 60. J. I.

⁸ Mr. Barrington translates it *Willand*, but he has printed *Witland* twice in the Saxon, as I find it in the MSS. It is now probably *Witepski* in Lithuania, to the east of Wilno. J. I.

⁹ Now generally called *Estonia*; I have therefore called the inhabitants *Estonians*. J. I.

¹⁰ See the same custom reported of the Scythians by Herodotus, and of the Tartars and other rude nations by modern travellers; particularly in Hakluyt’s *Collection of Voyages*, &c. Vol. I. p. 97. fol. Lond. 1598. Mr. Barrington seems to have overlooked the word *myran* in the original. Vid. not. in locum. “Lac equinum bibunt,” Lat. Verf. J. I.

M

“ con-

“ contention ^c amongst the different tribes of this nation. There is no ale
 “ brewed amongst the Estonians, but they have mead in profusion ^d.

“ There is also this custom with the Estonians ^e, that when any one dies,
 “ the corpse continues *unburnt* with the relations and friends for at least a
 “ month ; sometimes two ; and the bodies of kings and illustrious men,
 “ according to their respective wealth, lie sometimes even for half a year
 “ before the corpse is burned, and the body continues above ground in the
 “ house ; during which time drinking and sports are prolonged, till the day
 “ on which the body is consumed ^f. Then, when it is carried to the fune-

^c Gewinn, Sax. “ *Multum vini est etiam inter eos*—” according to the Latin translation ;
 (Ælfredi Magni Vita, p. 208.) and, as the royal Geographer is here enumerating the *liquors*
 which the Estonians used, it appears at first sight more natural that he should mention *wine*
 than *war*. But the word *win* is generally used for *wine*, without the prefix *ge* ; and perhaps
 the only *wine* of these people was *mead* ; meddi, Br. μεδδν, Gr. The other fact, respecting
 the want of ale and the art of brewing, though it may appear trifling now, was considered re-
 markable and important enough to be noticed in the days of Alfred ; and, indeed, ale or beer
 was afterwards a considerable article of commerce between the Flemings and the Estonians.
 See a Poem written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, *On the Policy of keeping the Sea*, c. 5.
 printed in Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 192. Sigismund of Herberstein says of the *Russians* in his
 time : “ Their common drinke is *mead* ; the poorer sort use water, and a third drinke called
 “ *quasse*, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a little
 “ branne meashed with it.” Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 496. Cur moriatur homo cui *quassia* ? J. I.

^d Here Wulfstan's voyage ends in Hakluyt. *D. B. Vid. Voyages, &c.* Vol. I. p. 6. ed.
 1598. Somner printed the remainder of it in his Saxon Dictionary, except the last sen-
 tence. Vid. voc. gedrync, Som. Dictionar. Sax. Lat. Angl. Ox. 1659. *J. I.*

^e The following curious particulars, relating to the manners of the Estonians in the ninth
 century, the preservation of which we owe to the diligent pen of King Alfred, form a valua-
 ble supplement to the short sketches of aboriginal manners delineated by Cæsar and Tacitus.
 They also tend to illustrate the history of some obscure antiquities in our own island. Per-
 haps the veil of mystery which has so long enveloped the remains of Stonehenge, Abury, &c.
 is here removed. See the notes hereafter, pp. 83, 87, and 88. *J. I.*

^f This ceremony was so important among the Northern nations, that they regulated their
 chronology, not on the Newtonian system of eclipses, but by the *burning* of some particular
 hero or heroine. A person's age was also tolerably well ascertained, not by parochial re-
 gisters, but by his having been present at the *burning* of some great man. Queen Mary at-
 tempted to introduce a worse chronology into this country *not many centuries ago*, attended
 with circumstances of much greater atrocity, ignorance, and barbarism. *J. I.*

“ ral

“ral pile, the substance of the deceased, which remains after these drinking
 “festivities and sports, is divided into five or six heaps; sometimes into
 “more; according to the proportion of what he happens to be worth.
 “These heaps are so disposed, that the largest heap shall be about one mile
 “from the town; and so gradually the smaller at lesser intervals, till all the
 “wealth is divided, so that the least heap shall be nearest the town where
 “the corpse lies.

“Then all those are to be summoned together who have the fleetest
 “horses in the land, for a wager of skill, within the distance of five or six
 “miles from these heaps; and they all ride a race toward the substance of
 “the deceased. Then comes the man that has the winning horse toward
 “the first and largest heap, and so each after other, till the whole is seized
 “upon. He procures, however, the least heap, who takes that which is
 “nearest the town; and then every one rides away with his share, and
 “keeps the whole of it. On account of this custom fleet horses in that
 “country are wonderfully dear. When the wealth of the deceased has
 “been thus exhausted, then they carry out his corpse from the house, and
 “burn it, together with his weapons and clothes^h; and generally they
 “spend his whole substance by the long continuance of the body within

* More than equivalent to *two three-mile-beats* in the present day! If any custom can be ennobled by antiquity, the friends of the *turf* may here find an argument for their favourite diversion. Equestrian exercises, and all the public games of competition, were anciently connected with rites and ceremonies of the most serious and important nature. See Homer, and his faithful copyist Virgil. Jornandes (c. xlix.) gives an interesting description of the funeral of Attila, which was celebrated with all that strange mixture of grief and festivity, of pomp and cruelty, of funeral solemnity and tumultuous joy, which characterizes such a ceremony in a rude state of society. *J. I.*

^h This custom of the Estonians will forcibly recall to the mind of the classical antiquary the following passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, (de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 19.) “Funera
 “sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; *omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitran-*
 “*tur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia*; ac paullo supra hanc memoriam servi, et clientes,
 “quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confecti una cremabantur.” The custom of burning the dead, *νεκροκαυσία*, or *cremation*, was almost universal among rude nations from the age of Homer to that of Alfred. See the *Heathen burial-place*, with its Hippodrome, &c. on Salisbury plain, vulgarly called STONEHENGE, a corruption of STONE-RIDGE. *J. I.*

M 2

“ the

" the house¹; together with what they lay in heaps 'along the road, which
 " the strangers run for, and take away.

" It is also an established custom with the Estonians, that the dead bodies
 " of every tribe or family shall be *burned*; and if any man findeth a single
 " bone unconsumed, they^k shall be fined^l to a considerable amount. These
 " Estonians also have the power of producing artificial cold; and it is thus
 " the dead body continues so long above ground without putrefying^m, on
 " which they produce this artificial cold; and, though a man should set
 " two vessels full of ale or of water, they contrive that either shall be com-

¹ That is, by the consequential expences. D. B.

^k i. e. the relations of the deceased; or, perhaps, the whole tribe; as King Alfred made a whole hundred in England pay for any public outrage, or notorious violation of the laws. J. I.

^l " hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan," Sax. " they shall it mickle boot," O. E. Mr. Barrington, supposing perhaps that the word gebetan here was the same with our present verb to beat, and that *beating* implies *anger*, translates the passage feebly and erroneously thus: " It is a cause of *anger*!" *Boot* is still understood, both as a noun and a verb: " Alas! what boots it with incessant care, &c." Milton's *Lycidas*. Mr. Barrington appears to have had his eye on a passage in Tacitus, where, speaking of these same Estonians, he says, " rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus!" (Tac. Germ. c. 45.) J. I.

^m Phineas Fletcher, who was ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Russia, gives an account of the same practice continuing in some parts of Moscow. " In winter time, when all is covered with snow, so many as die are piled up in a hovel in the suburbs, like billets on a wood-stack; they are as hard with the frost as a very stone, till the spring-tide come and resolve the frost, what time every man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground." See a note to one of Fletcher's *Eclogues*, p. 10. printed at Edinburgh, in 1771. 12mo. See also a poem written at Moscow, by G. Turberville, in the first volume of Hakluyt, p. 386. where the same circumstance is dwelt upon, and the reason given, that the ground cannot be dug. Bodies, however, are now buried at Moscow during the winter. D. B. As the poem of G. Turberville, to which Mr. Barrington refers, in Hakluyt, is addressed to so great a poet as *Spenser*, those readers who happen not to have a copy of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, may be amused perhaps with the following specimen of it:

" Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
 That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide so long a season!
 Take this for certaine troth; as soone as heate is gone,
 The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
 Without offence at all to any living thing;
 And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of springe." J. I.

" pletely

“pletely frozen over ; and this equally the same in the summerⁿ as in the “winter.”

Now will we speak about those parts of Europe that lie to the south of the river Danube ; and first of all, concerning Greece. The sea which flows along the eastern side of Constantinople (a Grecian city) is called Propontis. To the north of this Grecian city an arm of the sea shoots up westward from the Euxine ; and to the west by north the mouths of the river Danube empty themselves south-east into the Euxine^o. To the south and west of these mouths are the Moesians, a tribe of Greeks ; to the west of the city are the Thracians, and to the west also are the Macedonians. To the south of this city, towards the southern part of that arm of the sea which is called the Egean, Athens and Corinth are situated. And to the west by south of Corinth is the land of Achaia, near the Mediterranean. To the west of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is Dalmatia, on the north side of the sea ; to the north of Dalmatia are the boundaries of Bulgaria and Istria. To the south of Istria is that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Adriatic ; to the west are the Alps, and to the north that desert which is between the Carinthians and the Bulgarians.

Italy, which is of great length west by north, and also east by south, is surrounded by the Mediterranean on every side but towards the west-north. At that end of it lie the Alps, which begin westward from the Mediterranean, in the Narbonense country, and end eastward in Dalmatia, near the [Adriatic] sea^p.

With respect to the territory called Gallia Belgica, to the east of it is the river Rine, to the south the Alps, to the west by south the sea called the BRITISH OCEAN, and to the north, on the other side of the arm of the

ⁿ This must have been effected by some sort of an ice-house ; and it appears by the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, that they have now ice-houses in Sweden and Lapland, which they build with moss. *D. B.* This is now considered a modern invention ! *J. I.*

^o Into the south-east part of the Euxine, according to Mr. Barrington's translation ; for the correction of which I refer the reader to the original, and to the first map of Europe that he happens to lay his hand on. Three lines below, for *east* read *west*. *J. I.*

^p “To the east of the sea opposite to Gallia Belgica,” according to Mr. Barrington, who was misled by an improper punctuation in the original. *J. I.*

Ocean,

Ocean, is BRITANNIA. The land to the west of the river Loire is Æquitania; to the south of Æquitania is some part of the Narbonense; to the west by south is the territory of Spain; and to the south the Ocean. To the south of the Narbonense is the Mediterranean, where the Rhodanus empties itself into the sea, having Provence both on the east and west. Over the Pyrenean wastes is Hispania citerior^a; to the west of which, by north, is Equitania, and the province of Gascony⁴⁴ to the north. Provence⁴⁵ has to the north of it the Alps; to the south of it is the Mediterranean; to the north-east of it are the Burgundians, and the people of Gascony to the west.

Spain is triangular; and entirely guarded on the outside by the sea, either by the great Ocean or by the Mediterranean, and also well guarded within over the land. One of the angles lies south-west against the island of Gades; the second eastward against the Narbonense territory, and the third north-west against Braganza, a town of Galicia. And against Scotland, (i.e. Ireland,) over the arm of the sea, in a straight line with the mouth of the Shannon; is Hispania ulterior^a. To the west of it is the Ocean, and to the south and east of it, northward of the Mediterranean, is Hispania citerior^a; to the north of which are the lands of Equitania; to the north-east is the weald of the Pyrenees, to the east the Narbonense, and to the south the Mediterranean.

With regard to the island BRITANNIA, it is of considerable length to the north-east; being eight hundred miles long, and only two hundred miles broad. To the south of it, on the other side of the arm of the sea, is Gallia Belgica; to the west, on the other side of an arm of the sea, is the island Ibernica, and to the northward the Orkney isles. Igbernia, which we call SCOTLAND, is surrounded on every side with the Ocean; and hence, because the rays of the setting sun strike on it with less interruption than on

^a It must be recollected, that Orosius is supposed to speak, and not Ælfred. D. B. The royal Geographer, indeed, appears to have deserted Orosius entirely, as an insufficient guide, till he came to those territories which are situated to the south of the Danube. This, therefore, is the only part of his description, which can be strictly considered as a *translation*. The division also of all Europe into the countries lying north and south of the Danube, so clear and simple, which is completely *original*, shews how much we owe to King Ælfred. J. I.

other

other countries¹, the weather is milder there than it is in Britain. Thence, to the west-north of Ibernica is that UTMOST land called Thila, which is known to a few men only, on account of its exceeding great distance².

Thus have we now sufficiently described all the land-marks of Europe, according to their respective situations.

¹ Literally, "for that the sun *goeth nigher on settle*, &c." Though King Alfred of course delivered his thoughts in the popular language of his time, it may perhaps be difficult to find a more philosophical reason for a well known fact, which Orosius indeed had *recorded*, but did not *explain*. In spite of philosophy we still talk of the *rising* and the *setting* sun. *J. I.*

² The words of Orosius are: "Deinde insula Thule, (*l. Thile*), quæ per infinitum a ceteris "separata, circium versus medio sita oceano, vix paucis nota habetur." Oros. Haverc. p. 28. "Pro *Thule* ed. pr. et MSS. Flor. *Tile*. Aug. *Thile*," &c. Havercamp. Yet he prints *Thule*. Our royal Translator appears to have read *Thila*, or *Thile*; which agrees better with the etymology of the word, though the Greeks wrote Θουλη, and the Romans after them *Thule*. The epithet *ytēmeffe*, which is the real meaning of Thile, is added by King Alfred, corresponding with the epithet *ultima* in Virgil, (Georg. I. 30.) Venantius Fortunatus, (Vit. S. Martini, III. 494.) &c. See Ol. Rudbek. Atlant. c. v. & xix. Though Professor Rudbek, like other system-builders, would make all the learning of antiquity converge, as to a centre, to his favourite *SVEONIA*, and though it is evident, that the Thule of Pliny, Procopius, and some others, must have been the great peninsula of Sweden and Norway, yet it is equally manifest, from the accurate descriptions of Alfred and Orosius, that by *THULE* *they* understood the modern ISLAND. Vid. M. de Bougainville, sur les Voyag. de Pythéas, &c. *J. I.*

As I have ventured (p. 83.) to give a new interpretation of that wonder of the world, *STONEHENGE*, though whole volumes might be written with the pompous title of *STONEHENGE RESTORED*, and with fairer claims to public attention than those of *INIGO JONES* and others, yet at present I shall content myself with reprinting on a vacant page in this sheet the following document, extracted from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. II. p. 857. It is a grant of lands from King Athelstan to Wilton Abbey, extending from the banks of the Nadder along the *PILE* of *STONES* to Burbage, Savernak forest, Oare, and Wonfdike to the north, and beyond Westbury along the old Bath road to the west.

The whole well deserves the attention of the future historian of Wiltshire.

Ex

*Ex Cartulario de Wilton, penes Comitem Pembrociens. anno 1658.
(Vid. Monast. Angl. II. 857. et seqq.)*

Dis is Norþ Niwantunes boc,

ÆREST on Avene ^a at Stintes forde. þat and lang weges on Teolton forde and swa ongean stream on Wifeles forde. þonne and lang þæs friþ herpæþes on Sand beorh. of þam beorge to Botan wylle. þonne forþ be streame on blacan lace. þæt and lang lace on Afene ^a. and swa and lang streame eft on Stintes ford:. Dis synd þa land gemære æt þam Oran ^b. Ærest on Heefel wylle þat and lang weges on Beorh dic. þonne and lang þære dic on Risþyfel and swa west on butan on bradan stane. of þam stane on rugan dic. þonne on Lufa beorg. þæt and lang weges on readan floh and swa to Wodnes dic ^c. þonne forþ be þære dic on Crypel geat. þonne forþ to Drag stane and swa to Meosleage. of þære leage and lang oxna pæþes eft on Heefel wylle:.

(De VI. manfis apud BRYDANCUMBE.)

Dis is Brydancumbes land boc þe Aþelstan cing gebocode þam hiwum æt Wiltune for hine and for Eadflede his swistor on eche yrfe:. Dis syndon þa land gemæro æt Brydancumbe. of Nodre ^d staþe up ofer east cumbe swa se STAN-HRYCG ^e scyt to þam HEEþANNE BYRGELSE. þonne west and lang hriges swa se herepoþ sceat to þam beorge ^f to scorte Hryþrum ^g. þonne forþ be yfre oþ Bringwoldes treow. þonne and lang herpæþes in on beorge ^f. forþ þonne and lang streames oþ oxna ford. þonne þær ofer on ane lake. þonne and lang lake in on NODRE ^d.

“ Acta est hæc præfata donatio anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu
“ Christi DCCCCXXXVII. Indictione X.

^a AVON. ^b OARE. ^c WONSDIKE, i. e. WODEN'S-DIKE. ^d NADDER, or Adderbourm.

^e STONE-RIDGE; vulg. *Stonidge, Stonage, Stonebenge*, &c.

^f WESTBURY.

^g SHORT RIVER; near BEORGE, or Westbury; i. e. the Short *Rother*-path.

King

*King Alfred's Description of the Ilands in the Mediterranean,
from Orosius.*

NU wille we secgan ymb þa ygland þe on þa Wendel sæ syndon:. Cipros þæt igland. hit liþ ongear Cilicia and Isaurio. on þam sæs earne þe man hæc Ifficos. and hit is an hund mila lang and fifan and fifantig. and an hund mila brad and twa and twentig:. Creto þæt igland. him is be eastan se sæ þe man Carfatium hæc. and westan be norþan Creticum se sæ. and be westan Sicilium. þe man oþre naman hæc Addriaticum. hit is an hund mila long and hund-fifantig. and fiftig mila brad:. Ðara iglanda þe man hæc Cicla-des. þara syndon þreo and fiftig. and be eastan him is se Icarisca sæ. and be suþan se Cretisca. and be norþan se Egisca. and be westan Addriaticum:. Sicilia þæt igland is þry-scyte. on ælces sceatan ende syndon beorgas. þone norþ sceatan man hæc Pelores. þær is seo burh neah Messana. and se suþ sceata hatte Pachinum. þær neah is fio burh Siracussana. and þone west sceatan man hæc Lilibeum. þær is fio burh neah þe man hæc Lilibeum. and hit is an hund and syfan and fiftig mila lang suþ and norþ. and se þrida sceata is an hund and syfan and hund-fyfantig west lang. and be eastan þæm lande is se Wendel sæ þe man hæc Adriaticum. and be suþan þam man hæc Affricum. and be westan þe man hæc Tirrenum. and be norþan is se sæ þe ægþer is ge nearo ge hreoh:.

Wiþ Italie þam lande Sardinia and Corsica þa igland todæleþ an lytel sæs earm. se is twa and twentig mila brad. Sardinia is þreo and þritig mila lang and twa and twentig mila brad. him is be eastan se Wendel sæ þe man hæc Tirrenum. þe Tiber fio ea ut scyt on. and be suþan se sæ þe liþ ongear Numedia lande. and be westan þa twa igland þe man hæc Balearis. and be

N

norþan

norþan Corfica þæt igland. Corfica. him is Rome burh be eaftan. and Sardinia be suþan. and be westan þa igland Balearis. and be norþan Tuscania þæt land. hit is fyxtene mila lang. and nygan mila brad:. Balearis þa tu igland. him is be suþan Affrica. and Gades be westan. and Ispania be norþan:.

Scortlice hæbbe we nu gesæd be þæm gefeteneffum iglandum þe on þæm Wendel sæ findon:.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

FIRST CHAPTER OF THE FIRST BOOK

OF

ÆLFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

BY

MR. J. R. FORSTER, F. R. S.*

THE Geography of King Ælfred is not to be considered as a mere translation of Orosius, for he brings in the testimony of Ohthere and Wulfstan, who came to the King, and gave him a most minute and accurate account of

* JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, I believe, is the *first* and *only* person, who has hitherto had the sagacity justly and duly to appreciate the value of this geographical fragment. He has therefore taken great pains to render it more intelligible. The geographical notes of Busséus, printed at Copenhagen in the year 1733 with his edition of the Periplus of Ohthere &c. said by Mr. Barrington to have been published together with Arius Polyhistor, I have not yet seen. But I conclude, if they had been of much service, they would have been consulted to some advantage by Mr. Forster and Mr. Barrington, the latter of whom has expressly mentioned them. With respect to the objection of Mr. Barrington to the word *periplus*, as applied by Busséus to the voyage of Ohthere, it appears to me to be totally groundless, particularly since the word has been made familiar to every English reader by the ingenious publications of Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Westminster. That the voyage was strictly a *circumnavigation*, must be evident to any person who examines the course of it; and it appears to me to deserve the name as much as any *circumnavigation* hitherto performed, though it is certain, that he did not sail round the globe! Whether my taste will be condemned as *barbarous*, or not, I cannot tell; but I confess I have felt more interest and amusement from the perusal of the *Periplus* of Ohthere, and the *Parapulus* of Wulfstan, as written by King Al-

their own navigations; and therefore IT IS A MOST PRECIOUS FRAGMENT OF THE REAL SITUATION OF SEVERAL NATIONS IN THE NINTH CENTURY! The veil which time has drawn over the history of those dark middle ages, especially in regard to the more remote countries in the north

fred, than from any Periplus or Paraplus of antiquity. To the exploits of the ancients, indeed, we may apply the philosophical sentiment of Sallust; they have been magnified by the genius of their historians, poets, and orators, "quantum extollere potuerunt præclara ingenia!" Mr. Barrington, who certainly had to contend with great difficulties in this part of his work, says, "that the first chapter of Alfred's Orosius, which describes the boundaries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, together with the principal provinces, will undoubtedly appear to most readers *very unentertaining*, though it will be found to contain many particulars, *which will illustrate the geography of the middle ages, especially in the more northern parts of Europe.*" (Preface to his Translation, p. xxiii.) This chapter, indeed, is the more difficult to be understood, and therefore less likely to be *entertaining*, because the royal Paraphrast is so far from translating Orosius literally, that he deserts him almost in every line, omits what he thought uninteresting to his Saxon readers, transposes what is out of order, and supplies what appeared to be deficient. And though this was his general practice in his translations of authors, yet it is no where so conspicuous as in this first chapter of his Orosius. The reader will form some idea of the truth of this statement when he is told, that the whole description of Europe in Havercamp's Orosius fills but *six* pages 4to. of very large type, more than *one half* of which consists, as usual, of notes about *various readings*! We are indebted to King Alfred, and to King Alfred alone, for the accurate description of nearly all those numerous tribes, with their territories, from which has been constructed the immense fabric of the German empire; the ruins of which are about to be employed to increase the aggrandisement of France. The sources of the Rhine and the Danube, as well as the course of those rivers, are more accurately marked than in the original; and let it be remembered, that there is scarcely any authentic and accurate information to be derived either from Orosius or from any other writer, previous to the time of ALFRED, with respect to any country of Europe situated beyond the latitude of 55 degrees north. This seems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of the geographical knowledge of the ancients towards the north, as the Pillars of Hercules were to the west. For, though Ptolemy, Pliny, and many others have mentioned an island called Thile, Thyle, or Thule, as the extreme point to the north, yet it is evident, from the discordant opinions respecting the situation of it, which have agitated the learned for the last two thousand years, that nothing *certain* was known concerning it. But, whatever might have been considered by other geographers as the Thile, or extreme point towards the north, the Thile of Orosius and of his royal Translator was undoubtedly ISLAND. How far the land of Norway and Sweden (the ancient Scandinavia, and the Thule of Pliny, Procopius, and others) extended towards the North Pole, was totally unknown, till an obscure navigator of Helgo-

land

and east of Europe, makes it certainly very difficult to find out the real names of several nations and places mentioned by King Ælfred: but the comparative view of the situation of such nations as are known to us will contribute to identify those that are either unknown, or at least so disguised as to make it no easy matter to fix their seats with any degree of certainty.

The first country in Europe, that Ælfred describes, is GERMANY: but he gives it such an extent, as few other writers have done. Among those few is Paulus Warnefried, (Hist. Longob. l. i. c. i. sub initium.) It must therefore be understood, that he takes in all the Teutonic tribes, when he speaks of Germany; and even then the geography is not easily comprehended; though upon examination we find the royal Geographer well informed and perfectly accurate^b. The limits of Germany are, to the eastward the river Tanais, to the west the river Rine, to the south the Danube, and to the north the ocean called the Cwen-sea. The rivers Tanais, Danais; or Don, the Rine, and Danube, are well known; the sea, however, called the Cwen-sea, is very little if at all so.

To shew its true situation, we must trace Obthere in his navigation. He first says, that he lived *to the north of all the Northmen*; and calls the shire he inhabited Halgoland. This Halgoland cannot be the isle of Helgheland, at the mouth of the Elb, because it lies not north of all the Northmen^c;

land came to the court of King Alfred in the NINTH CENTURY, and delivered to that Monarch a faithful report of a voyage of DISCOVERY, which he had made round the NORTH CAPE, and to the banks of the DWINA! In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, nearly 700 years afterwards, a NEW discovery of this north-east passage to Russia was supposed to have been made by the ships of the ENGLISH COMPANY. Yet, though Sir Hugh Willoughby and his whole crew WERE FROZEN TO DEATH IN THE ATTEMPT, this hardy son of the North has not complained of the slightest inconvenience during his whole voyage. The two other voyages along the shores and islands of the Baltic, or East sea, cannot but be interesting to every inhabitant of the North of Europe, particularly amidst the present operations of the belligerent powers, and the novel complexion of political affairs.

^b Yet Mr. Barrington thinks it necessary to veil his own mistakes under the following caution: "I do not profess to maintain the accuracy of either the geography or the expressions of the royal Translator." p. 23.

^c Much less can it be the province called HALLAND, which then belonged to the Danes, but is now part of Sweden. Yet Somner in his Dictionary says, "Per Halgoland intelligen-

" dum

besides, this isle had in ancient times another name, viz. *Farroec*, *Farnia*, or *Harthia*, for it was consecrated to the Earth, the great divinity of several German nations, (Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 40.) and thence it had the name of *Harthia*, from *Herthum* the divinity. Tacitus observes, "Est in insula *oceanum castum nemus*," a HOLY forest; this caused the whole isle to be called *Helgheland*, i. e. *Holy-land*.

Ohthere's *Halgoland*, however, was in Norway, a district belonging to the province of *Nordland*, (i. e. Northland,) about 65°. north lat.^d; it is still called *Helgheland*, and is really one of the northernmost places in our time, that are inhabited. From this place Ohthere sailed due north, WITH AN INTENT TO DISCOVER HOW FAR THIS COUNTRY EXTENDED IN THAT DIRECTION^c; and he being the northernmost inhabitant, beyond him the country was desert. This waste land he had on his starboard, and the wide sea on his larboard side: these circumstances shew evidently, that he had the Western Ocean on his left, and the shores of *Lapland* on his right; for he sailed north *by the land* (be *þæm lande*,) i. e. along the shore; the particle *be* having this signification still in the German. Three days

"dum puto regionem illam *Danorum* regi subiectam, hodieque *HALLAND* appellatam!" Mr. Lye, hastily adopting this opinion without examination, goes still farther, and considers this small province, "regionem *Danorum* regi subiectam," as the whole of Denmark, *Dania*!

^d Rather, perhaps, about 66°. 40'. for so I find it in maps of good authority, and generally written *Heligeland*, or *Helgeland*. There is still a whole district of this name between *Trondheim* and the *Norlands*, or between what is properly called Norway and *Finmark*, extending from lat. 65°. 30'. to a little distance beyond the Arctic circle; this is probably the *þíra* or division of *Northmannaland*, the most northern part of which Ohthere inhabited. Island was the first land to his right, as he set sail from *Helgoland* to the Baltic.

^e And to discover also, "whether there were any human beings to the north of the waste, "or desert!" A noble and perilous enterprize for a northern navigator in the NINTH CENTURY! The following passage in the original Saxon, which has been either overlooked or totally misunderstood by the editors, expressly mentions the grand object of this voyage, and proves it to have been a VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY; "Swiþost he for þyder to *EACAN þæs LANDES SCRAWUNGE*," &c. (See the English translation, & not. in locum.) Ought we not then to place the name of OHTHERE, as M. de Bougainville says of Pytheas of *Marseilles*, "dans la liste des Gamas, des Colombes, des Magellans; espèce de conquérans plus digne de vivre dans la mémoire des hommes, que les Sésostris et les Alexandres?" *Mém. de Littérat.* tom. xix. p. 147.

sail

sail brought him to the place, which was the *ne plus ultra* of the whale-hunters in that age; and he then continued his course due north three other days. A day's sail was, with the ancient Greeks, 1000 stadia, which is above a degree, or about 100 sea-miles; so that it is no wonder, that Ohthere found himself at last near the North-Cape, within six days easy sail, which is not quite six degrees north of Helgheland. He could not double the Cape unless with a west wind; and after a short stay he shaped his course eastward during four days; but then the coast began to run due south, and he therefore waited till he could proceed with a north wind. Having obtained this wind, he went on for five days in a southern direction, and came in that time to the mouth of a great river^f, on the banks of which dwelt the Beormas, (or Biarmians,) who hindered him from going higher up in that river: this was the first inhabited country he met with; having had all the time of his course a desert on his right, frequented only occasionally by the fowlers, fishermen, and hunters of the Finnas, or Terfennas. Lapland is called Finmark by the Danes to this very day; which proves the Finnas to be the Lapponians. In the country of the Beormas he found the *horfe-whales* ^g, or the *Walrus*s, animals which he distinguishes carefully from the whales and the seals, of whose teeth he brought a present to King Ælfred, and which are found nowhere but in the White sea near Archangel, and the other seas to the north of Siberia. In all the ocean near Norway and Lapland no walrusses are ever seen, but still less in the Baltic; and this strongly proves Ohthere to have been in the White Sea.

Ohthere afterwards describes Northmannaland, which is a long narrow country, extending all along the shores of the Western Ocean, having to the east great moors, inhabited by the Finnas. To the south of this coun-

^f Now called the Dwina, which flows into the White-Sea near Archangel, about lat. 64°. 50'. so that Ohthere's voyage round the North Cape must have described at least a semicircle, or about 1500 sea-miles, and therefore is well worthy of the title of a PERIPLUS.

^g These are explained to be the same with the *morfes* in a marginal note to the translation in Hakluyt, already quoted by Mr. Barrington. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 5. They are the same with the *phocæ*, or *vituli marini* of Pliny. "MORSE, f. sic-hest, eller oxe, *bor* " *marinus*." Serenius, Swedish Dictionary. In fact, the word *morfe* appears to be a contraction of *mor-orfe*, a *sea-borfe*. *Hwal-rufs* is a *Russian whale*.

try

try was Sweoland, now Sweden: quite beyond the moors (on the desert, which lies north from his habitation,) is Cwenland, whose inhabitants made inroads into Northmannaland, going over the moors. Consequently it is evident, that Cwenland can be no where else, but in the modern Finland, which lies beyond the moors of the desert, (which last are now Lapland.) King Ælfred said the same before, mentioning the Sweons, "to the east of " which are the Sermendè (in Livonia); and to the north of the Sweons, " over the waftes, (i. e. having passed the waftes or deserts,) are the Cwe- " nas^h." From hence it is incontestible, that Cwenland is the same with Finland, and the Cwen-sea must be one of the seas including Finland. The Baltic is on one of its sides, but this is called by King Ælfred the Ost-sea, which is its usual name in the German language to this day. On the other side, is the gulf called the White Sea; this therefore must be Cwen-sea. Nay, Snorro Sturleson mentions, " that Carelia extends quite to " Gandwich, (i. e. the White Sea,) where Quenland lyes along its shores, " near Biarmia:" so that there is no doubt, but that Cwen-sea is the White Seaⁱ. Therefore Germany, in the time of King Ælfred, extended quite to the Cwen-sea.

The Danes, the Swedes, and the Normans^k spoke certainly a dialect of German, understood then by the Germans, which is plain from a comparison of both languages in the most ancient records; and a dialect of the German was spoken from the White Sea to the Baltic, along the Dnepr, and probably farther east to the very Tanais. This, I believe, induced

^h Adamus Bremenſis deſcribes Sweden as extending northward "ufque ad terram fœmina-
"rum;" (i. e. Cwena-land.) The history of the Amazons, which has been considered as en-
tirely fabulous, is partly explained by the meaning of the word Cwenas, which is here tranſ-
lated *fœminæ*! Vid. Ælfr. Oroſ. p. 48. et ſeqq. ed. Barrington.

ⁱ This ingenious conjecture is confirmed by the very ſignification of the word *cwen*, *white*,
fair, or *beautiful*, preſerved in the Welch language to this day in gwyn, gwen, gŷen, or gwent;
qwin, Swed. queen, Engl. See Lhuyd's Archæolog. Brit. and Baxter's Gloſſary. The Cwen-
ſea alſo is called *Bella More* by the Ruſſians, which conveys precisely the ſame idea.

^k Or Norwegians; which three nations are often deſcribed under the general appellation
of Northmen, or Normans; and their language has been called, in a vague manner, the
Norſe, or Nourſe; a term corrupted from Norſke, Norriſh, Nor'ſh, Nor'ſe, &c. So Er'ſe
from Erſke, Eriſh, Iriſh, &c. The Norſe, Norwegian, and Iſlandic are the ſame.

King

King Ælfred to look upon all that vast tract, from the Don to the Rine, and from the Danube to the White Sea, as belonging to Germany. Having thus stated the limits of Germany in general, we must follow the royal Geographer in the particulars.

¹ The East-Francan^m were confined between the Rine to the west and the Sala to the east, the Danube to the south, and the Saxons to the north, according to Eginhard, Charlemagne's Secretary: and this situation is likewise given to them by our royal Geographer.

² The Suevæ, [SVEVI,] or Swæfæ, are the Suabians; and inhabited that part of Germany called since the time of Caracalla, Allemanniaⁿ.

³ The Beathware are undoubtedly the Bavarians, or the Boiari, whose country was called Boiaria; its present German name is Bayern^o, and it is really to the south-east of Francia Orientalis. Its limits formerly extended beyond the Danube, between the rivers Leck to the west, and the Ens or Anifus to the east. The town of Ratifbon is called in the German Regensburgh, and belonged to Bavaria.

⁴ The Bemè, or Behemæ, are the Bohemians^p. Their country was, in

¹ These numbers refer to the English translation, which begins p. 71.

^m The inhabitants of Francia Orientalis, or East-Frankland; the old name is now perhaps preserved in the Circle of *Franconia*. In the Roman survey of the globe, and in the Cosmography of Æthicus, the French are called Franciscani, i. e. Frankish men; first written by us, Francisc-men, then *French*; Francas by themselves, then *François*.

ⁿ The *Circle of Suabia* in some old maps of Germany is called *Circulus Suevicus*. These Suabians, or Suevi, like the Vandals and other *wandering* tribes, had their name from their roving and unsettled habits; the word *schweiffen* in German still signifies to *wander*. Tacitus and other writers call the whole sea that lies to the north of Germany *Mare Suevicum*; and the whole of Germany as far as the Vistula is sometimes called *Suebia*. Orosius says expressly, that the Suevi occupied the greatest part of Germany in his time, and that they consisted of *fifty-four* different tribes, or nations, *gentes*. He has, nevertheless, mentioned but very few of those fifty-four tribes, and King Alfred with great judgment endeavours to supply the deficiency.

^o Now generally called the Circle of Bavaria, lying next to the Circle of Franconia to the south-east.

^p Though the word *Bemè* may appear a *barbarous* contraction for Bohemæ, or Boihemi, it is nevertheless derived from the Greek and Roman geographers, who have invariably written Βοιωτοι, Bæmi, &c. by corruption, from the days of Ptolemy to those of Alfred, who has also

written

ancient times, inhabited by a tribe of Celti, or Gauls ; who conquered and settled in it, and called it *Boiohemum*, the *home* of the *Boii*. Bohemia had its Slavonic dukes in the time of Charlemagne, in whose annals we find, in the year 805, the following account : “ Eodem anno misit imperator exercitum suum cum filio suo Carolo in terram Sclavorum, quæ *ΒΕΗΕΙΜ* vocatur, qui, omnem eorum terram depopulatus, ducem eorum, nomine Lechonem, occidit.” The royal Geographer’s centre is still *Francia Orientalis*, and to the east of that is Bohemia.

⁵ The Thyringæ are a nation to the north-east of *Francia Orientalis*. They were formerly called Therringi, mentioned by Amm. Marcellinus, l. xxxi. c. 3. Eutrop. l. viii. They were a branch of the Goths in ancient Dacia ; and afterwards in one of the great migrations they settled somewhere north-east of *Francia Orientalis*, near the river Sala, where at present Thyringen is situated.

⁶ The Saxons, or Seaxan, were to the north of Thyringen and the East-Francis. This nation has been very famous ; it was thus called, to distinguish it from those nations, which had no certain or settled habitations, as the Suevi and Vandali ; and their name implies *a settled people* (*Sassen*) ⁹. They formerly lived on the eastern shore of the Elb, which our royal Geographer calls Old Saxony ; for, according to Stephanus Ethnicographus, they lived formerly in the Chersonesus Cimbrica. When the Franks had conquered France, the Saxons took possession of their seats, even to the Rhine ; and those of them that lived on the west shores of the Weser were called *West-phali*, from the old word *fahlen*, *wahlen*, or *d’wallen*, to dwell,

written *Behemæ* ; and even so lately as the reign of Henry the Sixth we find nearly the same orthography :

“ Also Pruse men maken her adventure
Of plate of silver, of wedges good and sure,
In great plentie, which they bring and bye
Out of the lands of *Beame* and Hungarie.”

Vid. “ The Policie of keeping the Sea ; the fifth chapitre ;” printed in Hakluyt, from a MS. “ in the Trinitie church of Winchester,” Vol. I. p. 192. fol. Lond. 1598. See also the Nomenclator Ptolemaicus of Ortelius, p. 14. fol. Antwerp. 1584.

⁹ A different interpretation is given by Verstegan, and other antiquaries. See “ Resstitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities,” Spelman’s Life of Alfred, &c.

be-

because they really were to the west; those that were east of the Weser bore the name of *Ost-phali*, i. e. *East-dwellers*, and part of them extending to the north along the Weser were the *Angrivarii*, or *Angrii*.

⁷ The Frysæ are placed to the north-west of Francia Orientalis, which is true; for Charlemagne confined them within the Weser, the Scheld, and Fryslan, and they were therefore westward of Old Saxony.

⁸ Angle, or Angle-land, is to the north-east of Old Saxony, together with Sillende, or Sealand, and part of Dene, or Denmark; and therefore it is very probable, that the point of the compass must be wrong in the original, or that the good king has been mistaken^r.

^r I believe it will be found, on examination, that the *good king* is right, and that the point of the compass is *not* wrong in the original; though Mr. Forster and Mr. Barrington are both positive, that the Angles lived to the north-east of the Saxons. Now, in the first place, the land which they inhabited was called the *Angle*, or *Angle-land*, whence it is evident, that they lived at the *western* extremity of what is now called Holsatia, or Old Saxony, beyond Kiel and Lubek; and in the next place we must consider, that it is in the Circle of Franconia, not in Old Saxony, where we are to seek the geographical *centre* of King Alfred. It may be here observed, once for all, that King Alfred uses *twelve points of the compass*; a circumstance hitherto overlooked. These are the four cardinal points, East, West, North, and South; and two intermediate points between each of these cardinal points, which are emphatically called, North-east, and East-north; South-west, and West-south; West-north, and North-west; East-south, and South-east. If therefore, for instance, the point intended to be described between East and North happened to be more to the East than to the North, the expression used is North-east; and on the contrary, if it lay more to the North than to the East, it was conveniently described in Saxon by the obsolete compound East-north, the most emphatic word being placed last. The Greeks appear to have had names for *eight* winds only; some allowed but *four*. Andronicus Cyrrhestes is celebrated by Vitruvius, for maintaining the octonary number, and for erecting on that system the famous octagon tower of marble at Athens, called the Tower of the Winds; on the model of which the Observatory at Oxford is built; having on each side of the octagon a winged figure in relievo, representing one of the eight winds. (Vid. Vitruv. lib. i. c. 6. & Stuart's Athens, vol. i. c. iii. p. 13.) The erroneous conjecture of Le Roy, respecting the *four and twenty* winds supposed to be represented on this tower at Athens, arose merely from the appearance of the pyramidal roof, the base of which is a polygon of four and twenty sides; but the four and twenty *winds* are to be found only in the imaginary compass of the French traveller. To the eight winds of the Greeks the Romans added four more, making the twelve of King Alfred. In an excellent map of the Empire of Charlemagne, by J. Janslow, the *same* points of the compass are given,

⁹ The Apdredæ^s, or, as they are afterwards called, the Afdredæ, are no doubt, both by their name and position, the Obotritæ, a Venedic nation, settled in Meklenburgh.

¹⁰ Æfeldan are, as King Ælfred calls them, *wolds*^t: there are at present in the middle part of Jutland large tracts of high moors, covered with heath only^u.

¹¹ Weonodland, or Winedaland, is the country of the Venedi, a nation originally of the same origin with the Pruffians and Lithuanians.

¹² The Maroare are the Sclavi Maharenfes, or the Moravians, from the river Marus, or Maharus, running through their country, and which empties itself into the Danube not far below Vienna.

¹³ Carendre is the name by which King Ælfred probably calls the Sclavi Carenthani, or Carentani: at present their country is the Duchy of Carinthia, or Cærnthen. Formerly, in Strabo's time, the Carni lived there; (lib. vii.) whether they were of Teutonic offspring, or one of those Gaulic tribes who settled here with the Scordisci and Boii, cannot be easily ascertained. From the neighbourhood of the Sarmatæ in Pannonia, and from the affinity of the name of Carni with Crain, which in the Slavonic lan-

given, and the names of the winds differ but little from the nomenclature of King Alfred. Pliny and Vitruvius have given us the best account of the winds of the ancients.

^a The name appears to be preserved in the word *Abendrade*, or *Apenrade*, a town and district in the duchy of Schleswig; lat. 54°. 52'. N. but at some distance from Meklenburgh.

^t This word has never been sufficiently explained; its original signification is the same, whether written *felds*, *fields*, *velts*, *welds*, *wilds*, *wyltes*, *wealds*, *walds*, *waltz*, *wolds*, &c. &c; / being the radical and unchangeable letter, which implies *length*, or extent, whether of power, as in the Hebrew name of the Deity, or of space, as in his wonderful works; lakes, (lochs,) *wealds*, *wolds*, *wildernesses*, &c. So old age was properly called *eld* by our *elder* poets. It is therefore by *subaudition* that *weald* signifies a place *abounding in woods*, whilst *wold*, as explained by Bishop Gibson, is an extent of *plain*, *without* any wood. Thus the *wealds* of Kent are very different from the *wolds* of Yorkshire. Mr. Forster has therefore not without reason explained the *beath-felds* mentioned by King Alfred by *wolds*; *wylte*, Sax.

^u Mr. Forster seems to have read *hæfeldan*, (or *hæpfeldan*,) which indeed I find in the Junian MS. inserted as a various reading by Dr. Marshall. (MSS. IVN. 15.) It also occurs farther on in the MS. without any various reading; I have therefore inserted it in the text. *Hercynia sylva* seems to be derived from *erica*, heath; Erkenwald, or Erkenfeld, in the old German. *Heide* is now used in German to signify heath.

guage

guage signifies a *limit*, I suspect the Carni were Sarmatians, and continued to live in these parts, till by length of time they were called Carni and Carinthe, and at last their name was changed into Carentani. This opinion may be further proved from the name of the Duchy of Crain, which lies next to Carinthia, and which preserves the Slavonic name of Crain, though it is called by the Latin writers Carniola. (Paul Warnefried, Hist. Longobard. l. vi. c. 12.) This country was always considered as the boundary of Pannonia, Germany, and Italy. Even in the latter ages there was here established a Marquisate of the Winedi, or, as it is commonly called, the *Windische Mark*, i. e. Limes Venedicus, or Marchia Slavonica. The Slavonic nations frequently employed the word *Crain* for a limit; thus the *Ukraine* in Russia served as a barrier against the Tartars. In great Poland is a tract situated along the New-Mark of Brandenburg and Silesia, called Kraina, because it makes the limits towards the above countries: it is therefore highly probable, that the Carendre, or Sclavi Carentani, are derived from the ancient Carni, and had formerly the name of Crain, on account of their limitary situation. The Alps were no doubt the strongest barriers for all nations; these begin in this part called Crain, and were called by Strabo and other writers Alpes Carnicæ.

“Bulgaria is well known in history and geography; it was situated upon the Danube, next to Dacia: this is the opinion of Eginhard, who relates, that in the year 824 an embassy came to Charlemagne from the Abotritæ, “qui vulgo Prædenecenti vocantur, et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt.” The Bulgari had this name, because they came originally from the river Volga: and it is well known, that about sixty miles to the south-west of the city of Kazan in Russia, between the rivers Wolga, Kama, and Samara, is a place called Bulgarisk. The name of this nation is certainly derived from the river Wolga, beyond which the Bulgari or Wolgari lived; for so it ought to be spelled, because the latter Greek writers pronounced the B like a W^x.

^x In another part of the Saxon version King Alfred says, “Iliricos. þe we Pulgare hateþ; “the Illyrians, whom we call *Bulgarians*.” Vid. Oros. lib. iii. c. 7. verſ. Ælfred.

Bul-

Bulgaria mentioned by our royal Geographer comprehends, no doubt, the country where now Moldavia and Bulgaria are, on both sides of the Danube. I suspect however that they had, about the time wherein King Ælfred wrote, occupied many parts of the country which the Avars formerly had in their possession: for Charlemagne had so much weakened them, that their country was then reckoned a waste, till in the year 893 the Madgiari, or the present Hungarians, united with the pitiful remains of the Avari, and erected a new kingdom. This at the same time is a proof of the time wherein King Ælfred drew up his geographical account: for as he still mentions a desert or waste between the Carendre and the Bulgari, it must of course have been before 893, when the Hungarians made the first invasion into Bulgaria and Pannonia: about fifty years before this, the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenita wrote his book *De administratione imperii*, which was in 843.

¹⁵ Greece, which is mentioned here, signifies the Byzantine empire, and not ancient Greece: for of that our royal Author speaks afterwards.

¹⁶ Wiseland is that part of Poland, which commonly goes by the name of Little Poland; for in this part of the country the river Vistula takes its origin; which is called in German Weiffel, Weichsel, or Weixel, and in Polish Wisla: and the position of it to the east of Moravia cannot be easily mistaken.

¹⁷ Datia comprehends the country which is now called Red Ruffia, Transylvania, with the upper parts of Moldavia, and all Wallachia; and our Author takes notice, that all this formerly belonged to the Goths.

¹⁸ Dalamensæ are those Slavonians who formerly inhabited Silesia, from Moravia as far as Glogau, along the river Oder, or Viadrus. Witekind of Corbey calls them Sclavi Dalamanti, and their country Dalamantia: some other writers call them Daleminci.

¹⁹ The Surpè are those Slavonic tribes which were known by the name of Sclavi Sorabi or Soravi, Sorbi or Sorvi, who lived in Lusatia and Misnia, and part of Brandenburg and Silesia below Glogau; their capital was Soraw, a town which still exists. Charlemagne conquered these Sorabi about 806, and they were afterwards under the controul of the *Dux Sorabici limitis*.

tis. The Wendic language (a Sclavonian dialect) is still spoken by the country people; the Bible is printed in this language, and divine service performed in the same.

²⁰ The Syfelè are placed to the west of the Surpè. When King Ælfred mentions Wineda-land, he adds these words, "which men call Syfylè." There is no doubt that he means here the same country: but Wineda-land cannot be said to be to the west of the Surpè, as it rather is to the north of it. The name Syfelè, or Syfylè, is very little known in history, unless this name be preserved in the lately-published Obotritic monuments, where, on the sacred Caduceus, fig. 23. a. the following Runic characters are engraved, viz. *Shefil*. The *Annales Fuldenses* mention, in the year 874, the revolt of the Sorbi and Siufle; perhaps these latter may be our Syfelè⁷.

²¹ The Honithi our royal Author places north of the Dalamensæ. By their situation it appears that these Honithi are the inhabitants of Great Poland, who had their own dukes; but how King Ælfred got this name of Honithi is altogether unaccountable².

²² Mæghthaland our royal Geographer places to the north of Honithi, or Great Poland, where formerly the Duchy of Mazovia was situated. It was then subject to sovereign princes, who took the title of Dukes. This coun-

⁷ I suspect, that the *f* and *l* in this word have changed places, as they have a great resemblance to each other in manuscripts; and that we ought to read Sylyfæ, or Sylefæ, the *SILESIANS*! Silesia, it must be remembered, formerly occupied a much larger space on the map of Europe than it does at present. A similar error appears in the word *Siufle* above.

² It is remarkable, that the word is *not to be found* either in the MSS. or even in the printed text of Mr. Barrington's edition, but in the translation only! The Saxon *p* (*r*) being mistaken for *n*, Horithi, Horiti, Horoti, have been invariably transformed into *Honithi*; so that, instead of expressing our surprize with Mr. Forster, "how King Ælfred got this name of "Honithi," we may rather wonder, how Mr. Barrington or his printer got it! At some future time, perhaps, it may be as easy to identify the Horithi as the other nations mentioned by King Alfred. At present, it is with reluctance I offer a conjecture by no means satisfactory to myself; I suspect, however, that Horithi is the error of a negligent scribe in the first instance, which has been faithfully retained by others. For, in two places out of three where the same word occurs, we find it written without the *b*. Perhaps, therefore, the Horili, or Heruli (called also Lemovii by Tacitus and others) may be here intended.

try

try is called Magau or Mazawland in the ancient writers, and seems to be our Mægthaland.

²³ The Sermendè are, according to our royal Geographer, to the north of the Mazovians, and to the east of Bornholm and Sweden, which is consequently now Livonia, Estland, and part of Lithuania. In the beginning of this work it is said, "that the Tanais takes its source from the northern parts of the Riphæan mountains, which are near the ocean that men call "Sarmondisca." It is pretty clear, that the Sarmondi must be the Sauromatæ; for the ancient geographers were of opinion, the Tanais took its source near the Riphæan mountains, in the country of the Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ.

²⁴ The North Denè, our Author says, lived both on the continent and on the islands; consequently it hence evidently appears, that the North Denè not only were settled in North Jutland, but also in the isles of Fyhnen, Sealand, Langland, Læland, and Falster ^a.

²⁵ The Ost-Sea is here, according to our Author, that arm of the sea which surrounds Jutland on its north side, the isles above enumerated, and also the isle of Bornholm; it washes besides the shores of Prussia, Pomerania, and Meklenburg, and this very arm Ælfred extends even to the north of Sweden up in the Bothnic gulf ^b; consequently it comprehends what we

^a Mr. Forster seems here to have confounded the *Northern* with the *Southern* Danes, between whom King Alfred makes an evident distinction. By the *Northern Danes* we are to understand those who were then settled in the province since called *Halland*, and which now belongs to Sweden, as well as those of North Jutland. By the *Southern Danes* are signified those of South Jutland, with those who were settled in Sealand, Sconey, Moen, Falster, Læland, Langland, &c. &c. In the map of these territories by Ortelius we find the whole of the south-western coast of Sweden ascribed to Denmark. Hence the name of Swe-den, the country of the Sweo-Denè. This consideration will confirm a conjecture hereafter respecting the situations of Sciringes-heal and Æt-Hæthum, the most difficult to be ascertained.

^b Tacitus calls the whole sea *Mare Suevicum*, (de Mor. German. c. 45.) the eastern arm of it was anciently called Sinus Venedicus, afterwards Finnicus, and to this day the Gulf of Finland. With respect to the propriety of the term *East Sea*, as applied to the Baltic, it was perhaps so called originally by the Northern nations, to distinguish it from the opposite sea which washes the outer coast of Norway, and which Ohthere in the beginning of his Periplus calls the *West Sea*. (See page 60.)

call

call at present the Shager-rack, Catte-gat, the two Belts, the Sound, and the Baltic. The Germans have for the Baltic no other name than the Ost-Sea, i. e. east sea, which fully proves that no other sea can be understood : and though it seems that the name of Ost-Sea hath some impropriety, because it is to the north of Germany, it must be remarked, that the German nation, in the ninth century, was entirely excluded from this sea by the Wenedi and other Sclavonic tribes, and had consequently no notion of it : what they knew of it they learned from the Danes, who spoke the same language ; now in regard to the Danes, this sea certainly lies to the east ; it is therefore no wonder they adopted from them this name of Ost-Sea. However, it is remarkable, that even the arm which is between Norway and Denmark is called by our Author the Ost-Sea ; which observation will be useful in clearing up some other geographical points. As the great ocean also between Britain and Norway, Denmark and Friesland, is called the North Sea, in respect to this sea the arm between Norway and Jutland may justly be called Ost-sea.

²⁶ The Osti are undoubtedly the same nation that is afterwards called by Wulfstan the Esti ; they lived, according to the same navigator, east of the mouth of the Weiffel, or Vistula, along the Baltic. Tacitus mentions the *Æstii* in the same place ; and King Theodoric (ap. Cassiodor.) calls them by the same name^c. It seems they obtained it from the Danes and other Teutonic tribes, because they lived east of the Vistula, the boundary of Germany in the time of Tacitus. When the Hanseatic league existed, those wealthy merchants established their factories in Livonia, and even in great Novogorod in Russia ; they called also the nations living in these countries the Osterlings, i. e. the Easterlings, and the country itself Estland, or Eastland : whence the northernmost part of Livonia still bears the name of Estland^d.

^c They are also mentioned by Eginhard, (c. 12.) under the appellation of Aisti : Tacitus describes them as living on the eastern shore of the *Mare Suevicum*, now the Baltic ; what he remarks of their language, that it resembled the *British*, then perhaps nearly the same with the *Cimbrie*, is curious : “ *ritus habitusque Suevorum ; lingua Britannicæ propior.*” c. 45.

^d That small part of this large territory which now remains under a similar appellation, is generally called Estonia, latinized from Estland, as Lifland is converted into Livonia, Inger-

land

²⁷ The Burgundæ were formerly a nation living in the north of Germany, mentioned by Pliny, (l. iii. c. 28.) belonging to the Wandali, or Vindali. This nation was afterwards defeated by the Goths, and perhaps part of the nation retired for safety into the isle of Bornholm; another part settled near the river Saal in Germany, and had with the Alemanni frequent feuds and contests about the *salt-wells*. (Amm. Marcell. i. 28.) Those in the isle gave their name to it, and it was constantly called Burgunda-holm, i. e. the isle of the Burgundians; from which Bor'nholm is a mere contraction. Wulfstan in his account afterwards calls it Burgenda-land; and mentions that its inhabitants had a king of their own^c.

²⁸ The Sweon are the SVEONES or SVIONES of Tacitus^f, (de morib. Germ. c. 44.) who, according to that writer, *lived in the ocean, and had ships, either end of which they used occasionally, and were subject to a king*. They occur likewise in Eginhard (in vita Karoli Magni,) and in Adamus Bremensis. Jornandes calls them Swethans, and says, they send to Rome *saphilinas pelles*, remarkable for their fine blackness; he means, I suppose, fable skins, *saphilinas pelles* being barbarous Latin.

²⁹ The Scride-Finnas are the same with the Finnas, likewise mentioned by Ohthere. Jornandes mentions (de reb. Get. p. 611.) the Crefennæ, which no doubt is used instead of Scredefennæ; or, as Procopius (Hist. Goth. lib. ii. p. 261.) calls them, Scritifinni. Paul Warnefried expressly mentions, they were thus called, "a saliendo, juxta linguam *barbaram*." "Saltibus enim utentes, arte quadam ligno incurvo, ad arcus similitudinem,

land into Ingria, the Lettowe of Chaucer into Lithuania, &c. &c. Estonia is situated along the eastern shore of the Baltic, having the gulf of Finland to the north; and there is only the province of Ingria between this country and the city of Petersburg, the modern metropolis of Russia.

^c In fact, in whatever part of Europe they were fixed, they had their name from living in *burgs, boroughs*, or towns, in a more *settled* manner than the Suevians, the Vandals, &c. Burgo-woners, in Saxon Burg-wuniendas, or Burgendas, were easily converted by the Romans into Burgundæ, Burgendæ, and Burgundiones. Hence the modern name of Burgundy in France, as well as that of Burgenda-holm, or Bor'nholm, in the Baltic.

^f The ancestors of the Swedes, who call their country and their language to this day *Svea-ska*, i. e. *Sweonish*. The name of *Sweden* appears to have been given to this country from its being inhabited by a mixed race of Sweon and Denæ.

" feras

"*feras affequantur*:" and Adamus Bremenſis ſays, "between Nordmannia and Sveonia the Warmelani and Finwedi live, as alſo ſome other nations. Upon the limits between the Sveons and Nordmans, towards the north, live the Scritefinni, who are ſaid to overtake wild beaſts by running: their capital is Halſingaland. In Sweden, to the weſt, are the Goths, and the city of Scarane; to the north, are the Wermilani, with the Scritefinni, whoſe capital is Halſingaland. To the ſouth is the Baltic, and the city of Siſtona." Thus we learn, from the deſcription of Adamus Bremenſis, the Wermilani were the neighbours of the Scritefinni. By caſting our eyes on the map of Sweden, we find between Norway and Gothia the province of Warmeland, and to the eaſt of this is Helſingland, or Helſingen: it therefore is eaſy to collect from thence, that the Scredeſinnæ of King Ælſfred are the ſame Finnas whom Othhere mentions as inhabiting the moors to the eaſtward of Northmannaland, and oppoſite this land, to the ſouth, he places Sweoland; which perfectly agrees with the account of Adamus Bremenſis.

Ter-fennaland is the deſert or waſte to the north of Northmannaland, and of the country where the Finnas were ſettled, near Hælfingland ^s.

³⁰ The Beormas are a nation living eaſt of the river Dwina, near the White Sea. The northern writers frequently mention the Biarmians, and the Normans and Sveons had much intercourſe with them; which was very eaſy by the Newa, that communicates with the Ladoga Lake ^h.

^s The firſt ſyllable of the name of Ter-fenna-land is ſtill preſerved, perhaps, in the modern appellation of Tornè, or Tornea, applied to the river, the town, and the diſtrict of that name, in Lapland. Fenna-land, Fên-land, or Finland, is now called Finmark; Terfinnaland, therefore, probably comprehended both Finmark and Tornea-Lapmark, together with the whole of that *fenny* diſtrict, now called Pitea-Lapmark, from which the Finnas, or Fenmaas, originally received their name. A ſimilar diſtrict on the other ſide of the gulf of Bothnia ſtill retains the name of Finland for the ſame reaſon: whence alſo the gulf of Finland, ſinus Finnicus, vel Venedicus. The ancient *Fenni*, or Heneti, of Livy, the Winedas of King Alſfred, &c. as well as the Veneti, whoſe deſcendants founded the republic of Venice, were ſo called originally, in like manner, from their ſituation amidſt *fens*, lakes, marſhes, and moraffes. From an inattention to the real meaning of names has ariſen a vaſt deal of error, fable, and confuſion, reſpecting the early hiſtory of all nations.

^h Perhaps they have left the remnant of their name in the Ruſſian province of Permia, or Bermia,

³¹ Cwen-land ; as we have stated the situation of this country before¹, I shall only add, that the name Cwenæ, perhaps, is preserved in Cayenburgh, a town in the eastern parts of Finland, where Cwenland was.

³² Sciringes-heal seems to be the same place which is mentioned by Paulus Warnefried (Hist. Longob. l. i. c. 7.) by the name of Scoringa, whether the Winili or Longobardi, when they emigrated from Scandinavia, first went : it was in the neighbourhood of the Wandals.

Scoringa was near the place where now the province of Upland is ; for it was not far from Gotland : and Ohthere says, Sciringes-heal is due NORTH^k

Bermia, in the town of Permski, or Berma-weliki, the capital of that province, and in the district of Warmia in Poland. Biarmia occurs in many old maps on both sides of the White Sea ; and it is not improbable, that the name of Wearme-land in Sweden is derived from a branch of this people. See the romantic history of Hialmar, King of Biarm-land and Thulemark, printed at Stockholm from an ancient Runic MS. and accompanied with a Latin translation, by J. Peringskiöld ; republished by Dr. Hickes in his Thesaurus. (Diff. Epist. p. 123.) For the honour of Peringskiöld, this passage in the Periplus of Ohthere contradicts the following opinion, expressed in a note to Shelton's Translation of Wotton's *Conspectus The-sauri Hiccesiani*, &c. " As to the names *Biarmlandia* and *Thule-markia*, says the writer, " since " the whole history itself is *fabulous*, and valuable only for preserving so much of the Islandic " language, so I take these names to be *invented by the writer of it*, and not to admit of explanatory notes !" (Second Edition, p. 65.)

¹ Sub initium. Vide pp. 93—96. The whole district is sometimes called Caiania.

^k Here appears to be a material error, which has produced a vast deal of confusion and contradiction. The word norþwæge, or norþwege, occurs in the original ; which being found in some MSS. written without any kind of punctuation after it, and beginning with a *small* letter instead of a *capital*, as usual in old MSS. the name of NORWAY, a distinct territory of *Norðmannaland*, has been entirely overlooked by the transcribers and editors ! Now, in the first place, so far as Ohthere from describing Sciringes-heal to be due *north* of Helgoland, as Mr. Forster tells us, that he twice informs King Alfred expressly, that there were *no inhabitants* settled to the *north* of him ; but, he adds, there is a port (which implies inhabitants) to the *south* of the land, that men call *Sciringes-beal*. In the next place, to read, " ealne weg " on þæt bæcbord norþwege bi supan þone Sciringes-heal," i. e. " all the way on the larboard " northward by south," &c. is to confound nearly all the cardinal points of the compass ! (See the note on At-Hæthum.) It is manifest therefore, that we must look for Sciringes-heal, i. e. the port of Skiring, or Skeren, not to the *north* of this land, but in the *southern* part of Northmannaland itself ; consequently, if we fix on the port of SKÆ'EN, opposite the northern part of Jutland, in lat. 59°. 15'. we shall be able to follow the track described by Ohthere with-

of Helgoland; and to the south of this port is a vast bay which no one can see across, but that Gotland is opposite, consequently Sciringes-heal must be the Scoringa of Paul Warnefried. *The only difficulty in adopting this situation is the distance from Helgoland, which Ohthere says to be a full month's continued sailing*; but it is easy to account for that; when Ohthere sailed to the Cwen-sea and the Beormas, he took his course in the open sea, though in sight of land, but here he went close to the shore; and, as the shores of Ost Gothland and Upland are so full of rocks¹, we may easily think, *what a dangerous and therefore tedious navigation it must have been, in this labyrinth of rocks, without charts, without compass, without pilots, or*

without the least difficulty. Those also who recollect the process by which *Kining* in our language has been contracted into *King*, &c. will not wonder that *Skiring*, or *Skeren*, should be now written *Ske'en*.

With respect to the next port, called At-Hæthum, i. e. a port by the *beats*, afterwards changed into *Haitaby*, and called to this day *Haddeby*, it is situated on the south side of the river *Schle*, opposite to *Schleswig*, which having since become of greater importance, has eclipsed the fame of its ancient rival. Hence Sir J. Spelman, Somner, Lye, and others, following the authority of Ethelwerd, a Saxon writer, have considered At-Hæthum, or *Haddeby*, to be the same with *Schleswig*.

This port, before the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons came into Britain, was the capital of OLD ENGLAND, or Angle-land; but when Ohthere and Wulfstan performed their navigations it belonged to the Danes, who appear to have penetrated farther south after this great emigration, and to have occupied the vacant seats of the ancient inhabitants; those few that remained being easily conquered, and amalgamated with the Southern Danes, whilst some of the North Denè or Sweo-Denè in their turn have been incorporated into the independent kingdom of Sweden. Jutland, properly written *Gotland* in the time of King Alfred, still retains its ancient name, derived unquestionably from that branch of *Gothic* settlers who first peopled the Cimbric Chersonese. Mr. Forster seems not to have distinguished accurately between the isle of Gothland, or Gotland, and the peninsula of Jutland. This mistake, I imagine, together with that of all the editors, of understanding *NORÞWEGGE*, the Saxon appellation of NORWAY, to signify *northward*, led him to consider Sciringes-heal to be the modern port of STOCKHOLM. As I have had occasion in this instance to differ so widely from Mr. Forster, in illustrating the navigation of the Baltic in the ninth century, if my labours should happily be rewarded by public approbation, I hope, on some future occasion, to publish the whole of Alfred's geography, accompanied with accurate maps.

¹ So also are those of Norway, which may account for the length of the voyage from Helgoland to the port of *Ske'en*. See the different significations of the word *wicods*, not. in loc.

any

any of those helps, which make our voyages more expeditious and less dangerous !

³³ Iraland is no doubt here Scotland, which shews, how unsettled these countries must have been ; and that they were mutually peopled from each other ^m.

³⁴ At-Hæthum has commonly been thought to be the port of Sleswick, for thus Sir John Spelman translates it ; but if we examine the course of Wulfstan from At-Heathum to Ilfing, we may be soon convinced how impossible it is to be Sleswick ; for when he sailed from Heathum he had Weonodland to his right hand, and Langland, Læland, Falster, and Scone, or Scania, to his left, which cannot happen in sailing from Sleswick to Elbing, and the mouth of the Vistula. It must therefore be some port beyond the Belt in Jutland ; where it will make part of the Denè, and be situated between Winedum, or the Venedi, the Saxons, and the Angles.

³⁵ Truso seems to have been a town on the banks of the river Ilfing. There is a lake, from which the river Elbing in Prussia takes its source, that is called Draufen or Drusen by the common people. Upon the banks of this lake, I suspect, the town of Truso or Druso formerly stood ⁿ.

³⁶ Denemarca. Mark signifies country ^o in the old Northern languages : Denmark is therefore the country of the Danes ; Finmark, the country of the Finni. **ÆLFRED IS THE MOST EARLY WRITER HITHERTO KNOWN, WHO MENTIONS THIS NAME.**

³⁷ Blecinga is called an isle ^p ; but as there are none between Bornholm and Oeland, it must be rather Bleckingen.

^m *Ireland* is generally called *Scotland* by the writers of the middle ages ; but I do not recollect an instance in which our modern Scotland is called Ireland. I have therefore humbly proposed the reading of *Isaland* for *Ireland*. Vid. not. in loc.

ⁿ Wulfstan says expressly, that Truso stood on the banks of that *mere*, or *lake*, from which the Ilfing flowed ; but the passage is *omitted* by Mr. Barrington in his translation.

^o In its first sense, a boundary, land-*mark*, or division, between the possessions of different persons or nations. Hence the German titles of Margrave and Margravine, as well as the English Marquis and Marchioness, originally signifying the guardians of boundaries, or *marcbes*. The word *meare*, from *mearc*, or *mærc*, Sax. is still used in many parts of England for a boundary or division between the lands of different persons.

^p It is merely called Blecinga-eg, as Scania is called Scóneg ; the word eg, ega, *aqua*, e'a, *cau*,

³⁸ Moore¹ seems to be comprehended in the districts, which now are called Suder and Norder-Moehre, in the province of Småland: Mauringe², mentioned by Paul Warnefried (*de gest. Langob. l. i. c. 11.*) as one of the stations of the Langobardi on their march southwards, is very probably this Moore.

³⁹ Eowland is clearly the same with Oeland; and is one of the most fertile and agreeable islands of the Baltic³.

⁴⁰ Gotland has unalterably kept its name to the present time; and is famous for having been the constant rendezvous of the northern heroes, before they went on their marine excursions.

⁴¹ Wisle is the Weixel, Weichsel, or Weissel, called by the Poles Wisla, and by the Latin writers, Vistula. Jornandes (*de reb. Get. c. 3.*) describes this river extremely well; saying of Scanzia: "Hæc a fronte posita est Vistulæ fluvii: qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus, in conspectu Scanzix septentrionali oceano trifidus illabitur:" for this river has really three arms; the westernmost is near Dantzic; the two easternmost branches enter a large lake of *fresh* water, called Frish-Haff: it is about eighteen German miles long, and in some places three German miles broad, (or ninety English miles long, and fifteen English miles broad).

eau, Fr. signifies *water*; consequently *eland*, or *iland*, is the same with *water-land*, and is applied sometimes to a *peninsula*, as well as to an *island*; hence the *isles* of Purbeck, Portland, &c. each of which is a peninsula. Neither the French word *isle*, from *insula*, *isola*, Ital. nor *island*, corruptly so written for *iland*, absolutely signifies, in its proper sense, land *totally surrounded* with water.

⁴ The penetrating sagacity of Mr. Forster has appropriated the geographical situation of this territory, notwithstanding the confusion occasioned by reading *Meroe* instead of *Moore*!

⁵ MAURINGE appears in Olaus Rudbek's *Atlantica*, Tab. II. fig. 2. In a description of the limits of Denmark and Sweden in an old Runic MS. published by Wormius, one of the stones for marking the boundaries is said to have been placed between BLEKING and MORE, "MILLIN BLEKING OG MORE." Reg. Dan. p. 29. The name is still preserved in the last syllable of the town and territory of CALMAR, opposite to the isle of Oeland.

⁶ It is very long and narrow; extending from lat. 56°. 30' N. to lat. 57°. 40'. Yet, though 70 miles in length, it is not more than 20 in breadth in the widest part. It lies almost opposite to the isle of Gothland, or Gotland, which is mentioned immediately after.

⁴² Est-

⁴² Est-mere is the Frish-Haff above mentioned, which is connected with the Baltic by a mouth opening near Pillau [†].

⁴³ Weonodland is the isle of Fynen, or, as the Danes call it, Fy'en, and in Latin Fionia ^u.

⁴⁴ The Wascan. Thus Ælfred calls the people of Gascogne, or the Gascoins; which is a clear proof of the different pronunciation between the Celtic, or Gallic, and the Teutonic tribes. Thus William is changed by the French into Guillaume; and the family of the Welfi are the Guelfs of the Italian and French writers ^x.

⁴⁵ Profent and Profent-sea are certainly corruptions of the Roman word *provincia*; for this part of Gaul was formerly the Provincia Galliaë, and is now called Provence.

[†] This lake called by Wulfstan *Eftmere*, now the Frish or Frische Haff, is noticed by Pomponius Mela, under the appellation of Estia, as one of the *three* largest lakes in Germany. (*De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. c. 3.) The opposite *Haff* to the north-east is called the Currische-Haff.

^u Called by the French Geographers, "Isle de Fionie." But it is impossible that Wulfstan could mean the isle of Fynen in this place; for he had said before, that Weonodland was *all the way* on the RIGHT hand even to the mouth of the Vistula, now called *Weissel-munde*; whereas Fynen was undoubtedly on the LEFT. He also describes the *Vistula* as flowing out of Weonodland (or Winodland) into Eastmere, now called the *Frisb-Haff*. I imagine, therefore, we are to understand the whole of the southern coast of the Baltic, formerly inhabited by the Venedic tribes, some of the descendants of whom now occupy the Duchy of *Wenden*. In the geography of Ortelius, (1584.) there is a town called Wineta south east of the isle of Rugen. These Venedic tribes were anciently so numerous, that from them a part of the Baltic was called *Mare Venedicum*, and the gulf of Finland was called *Sinus Venedicus*, as well as *Finnicus*. Mr. Forster had made the same mistake before, p. 110.

^x An attention to the guttural prefix *ge*, common to all rude languages, but almost obliterated in the progress of refinement, will serve to explain these varieties of orthography and pronunciation, and contribute to assimilate all the languages of Europe. William is not *changed by the French* into Guillaume, for Gild-helm is the original word, which is both Frankish and Saxon. With respect to the Welfi or Guelfs here mentioned, they were the progenitors of the illustrious family now on the throne of England; whose history, successively illustrated by the labours of Leibnitz, Echard, Gruber, and Scheidius, amounts to four handsome volumes in folio, entitled, *ORIGINES GUELFIGÆ*, Hanov. 1750, 1751.

THE END.





